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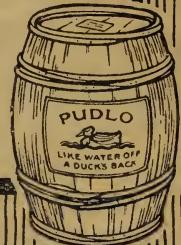
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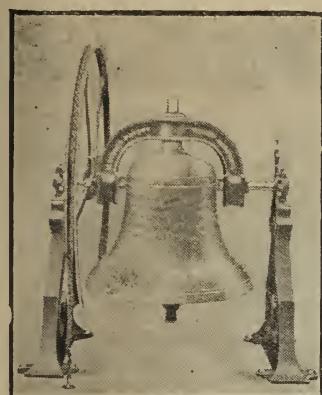
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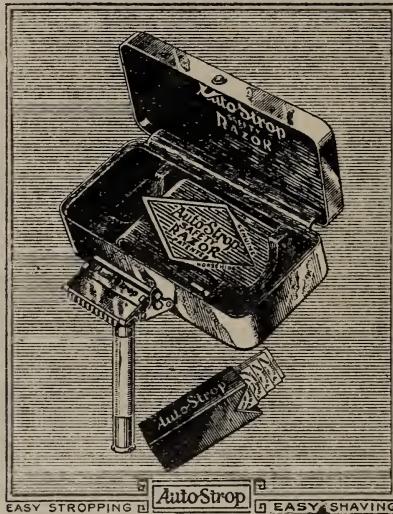
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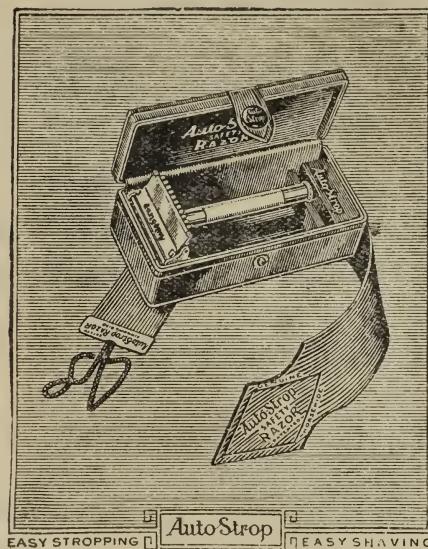
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THE RIGHT OF SOVEREIGNTY

BY REV. J. BYRNE O'CONNELL, PH.D.

ONE of the outstanding features of the political cataclysm which has overtaken modern Europe is the entire lack of any fixed code of morality in which men may take refuge. Expediency, indeed, has taken the place of moral principle, so that it is impossible to obtain any unanimity as to the intrinsic malice of any action, however hideous it may seem in the eyes of humanity. Much of this confusion and chaos is, of course, due to want of Religion; but no small part of it may be also attributed to lack of Philosophy. The two, in fact, seem historically to be interacting forces, for the sixteenth century witnessed a 'Reformation,' not only in Religion, but also in Philosophy; and, ever since then, every change in the former has reacted in the development of the latter.

In the present article, however, we are not concerned with the past, or even with the present. We are looking rather to the future—proximate or remote—when the nations will sit together in some form of Peace Conference to decide the fate of the smaller nationalities of the world, and our object is to lay down the Scholastic principles by which we shall judge the value and the validity of their decisions. The importance of the subject can scarcely be questioned; for, if Society and our social institutions are to have any kind of stability, they must be built on some more solid principles than those of the immediate past.

For the sake of clearness, it is essential at the outset that we should define with precision both our terms, and the limits within which this discussion falls. By the 'Right of Sovereignty' we mean that right of jurisdiction or authority by which a ruler has the power of effectively directing the energies of a people towards a common end or purpose. We are, therefore, dealing with the origin of Civil Authority. But here again it is necessary to make a clear-cut distinction between the historical and the

juridical origin of authority. In the first case, we consider the many and varying circumstances of time and place, which *help to determine* the form authority should take in this or that political community. The form of authority, for instance, may be predetermined by the fact of colonization, by feudal over-lordship, or by the existence of cognate families. Thus, a democracy will naturally arise in a colony, a monarchy in a system of feudalism, while a patriarchate may eventually develop into a monarchy or aristocracy. Yet such circumstances are antecedent to the actual determination of civil authority, and are facts which concern the historian rather than the moral philosopher. On the other hand, the juridical origin or cause of authority is that particular fact which, according to the natural law, actually determines both the form of regime and the subject in whom the authority is to reside. This is purely a question of Ethics, and has little or no import for the historian. It is a problem of Philosophy, and with it alone this article is concerned. Moreover, it must be noted that we are dealing with the origin of sovereignty in society, and not with the origin of society itself. The two questions, although connected, are, nevertheless, independent, and we can therefore claim the philosopher's privilege to abstract from the one, and deal exclusively with the other. Hence, the problem under consideration may be thus put in the form of a question : Whence comes the ruler's authority to govern ? Whence comes his sovereignty, or his power of jurisdiction ? Or, in the case of a nation conquered by another, it may be asked : Whence comes the right to rule on the part of the conqueror ?

The replies to this question have varied in the course of history ; but, confining our attention for the present to Scholastic circles, we may say that two main opinions divide the school. All, without exception, agree that authority ultimately comes from God—‘Omnis potestas a Deo est’—but, as regards the primary or immediate subject on whom God directly confers that authority, there has been much dispute since the beginning of the nineteenth century. Up to that time, the prevailing doctrine was that the people or nation is the primary recipient of the power to rule, and that it passes thence by some form of natural contract to the actual ruler or rulers. We use the word ‘actual’ advisedly, for the theory does not contemplate any particular form of government to be *per se*

prescribed by the law of nature. Hence, in the language of the schools, the people do not possess the power to rule ‘formaliter et quoad exercitium,’ but only ‘radicaliter et quoad virtutem’; that is, they possess all the rights of sovereignty, but do not actually exercise them until they have verified the essential conditions dictated by Nature’s Lawgiver. Among these conditions are the particular and permanent form of regime, the determination of a secondary subject to wield the authority, together with the manner in which it is to be transferred to successive rulers. When these formalities have been fulfilled, the right of ruling permanently belongs to the person or persons designated by the people, and cannot be lawfully revoked, as long as it is being exercised for the common weal. Yet, on the other hand, should the secondary subject ever become extinct, either justly or unjustly, the authority returns to the community. Finally, the contract or consent may be not only explicit, but even implicit, as, for instance, in the case of a conquered nation accepting the conditions of peace imposed by its conquerors.

Such, in brief outline, is the theory adumbrated by Aristotle and Aquinas, and afterwards elaborated by Suarez and his successors. According to it, every people has the inalienable right of autonomy and nationhood, as long as it can secure for all its members that peace and sufficiency of life, which is the end of society contemplated by the law of Nature. Its proof rests on the distinction already made between the historical and juridical origin of authority. Man’s aptitude, propensity, and need for civil society demonstrate that Nature has imposed on him the obligation of entering into a civic alliance with his fellows. Solitary man must be an angel or a beast, and because the bulk of humanity is not wholly one or the other, the Divine Lawgiver compels men to enter into a bond of civil relationship. Authority is essential to the stability and fulfilment of that relationship, and consequently Nature must primarily confer it on those whose duty it is to attain the end of civil society. In short, the community, as a collective body, is the primary depository of the right of social authority, because on it alone devolves the obligation of forming itself into an organic social unit.

Here arises the delicate question as to the right of conquest; and it is the Scholastic doctrine on this point which gives it such a peculiar importance and significance at the

present moment. An unjust conquest cannot obviously in itself give any just right to sovereignty, for such would be a contradiction in terms. A people, at first unjustly conquered, may, in the course of time, gradually and reluctantly, consent to the constitution imposed by the victors, but this acceptance is clearly something quite distinct from the fact of conquest. Moreover, cessation of hostilities is not necessarily a sign of consent to the conqueror's rule on the part of the subject race, and the latter may show its objection to that rule either by open rebellion, or by such a contempt for the alien's constitution that law and order has to be enforced at the point of the bayonet. But what of a just victory? Will the equilibrium of commutative justice supply any want of consent on the side of the conquered nation? The doctrine of Suarez on these points has been the source of some difficulty to Scholastic critics. In his reply to the pretentious claims of James I of England¹ the great Jesuit declares that 'the just punishment of a crime may take the place of a contract as regards the transference of authority and power.' Again, in *De Legibus* (iii. 44), he says that subjection to a conqueror in a just war is always *quasi per accidens*; but argues elsewhere that even this accidental submission implies the consent of the community, inasmuch as the *jus belli* pertains to the *jus gentium* which was introduced by the customs, and, therefore, by the consent of nations (ii. 17.8 : 19.8 : 20.6). In brief, therefore, Suarez holds that any lack of consent on the part of a conquered people is already supplied by their antecedent consent to International Law—the *jus gentium*—which allows a just conquest to be a fitting title to sovereignty. Later Scholastic writers, however, go further, and say, that although a nation in such circumstances may be bound by the natural law, to consent to the conqueror's constitution, yet unless it gives such consent, either explicitly or implicitly (as, v.g., in accepting the conditions of peace), the victor has no just right to rule. In support of this contention, they point to the parallel case of domestic society. A man may be bound by every natural bond of fidelity, charity, and justice to marry a certain person, but unless he actually consents to such a union, there is no marriage. In like manner, no nation can become another's subject or partner unless it

¹ *Defensio*, iii. 2-20.

consents to such a relationship. The race is like the units of which it is composed. They are essentially *sui juris*, i.e., they are endowed with the gift of autonomy, and consequently the nation, like the individual, cannot be deprived, without its consent, of its natural freedom and independence.

The other opinion held in the Scholastic vortex is that developed from the celebrated German jurist, De Haller, by Taparelli, during the early decades of the nineteenth century. According to this view, the primary subject of authority is not necessarily the people but that one who, by virtue of a previous right, is shown to be the most fitting to wield it. This right is, normally, parental or patriarchal supremacy, developing itself into supreme civil power: but, in other circumstances, the aptitude may be shown by feudal ownership of a certain territory, by military success in a just conquest, by remarkable powers of administration in case of civil chaos, and, in rarer cases, even by the consent of the governed.

This theory, as we have already observed, is borrowed from De Haller, whose work was primarily written against Rousseau's doctrine of the people's supremacy. The latter conceived man to be, by nature, a sylvan solitary, dwelling in pleasant retreats near running waters, but his unfortunate desire for self-improvement caused him to leave his pleasurable haunts and enter into a social contract with his fellow-man, by which each agreed to merge his personal liberty in a general will or authority with power to rule over them. This 'social contract' was not permanent, but temporary, and could, therefore, be revoked at the people's will as expressed by a numerical majority. Thus, the ruler was not sovereign but prince, and the people's consent to his rule was as a sword of Damocles over his head.

The likeness between this and the Scholastic doctrine is in no way real, but only apparent. Both indeed make the sovereignty depend on a contract between the ruler and the ruled; but the agreement begins and ends here. For Rousseau, the power to rule comes immediately from the people; for Suarez, it comes immediately from God, and only mediately from the community. For the former, the contract is arbitrary; for the latter, it is a moral necessity imposed by Nature's Lawgiver. Finally, for Rousseau, it is a temporary consent revocable at the wish of the populace; for Suarez, it is a permanent contract lawfully

irrescindible, as long as the ruler governs for the common good.

Yet, in all probability, it was this apparent similitude between the two theories which induced Taparelli, and the school of Italian writers which followed him, to accept and develop the doctrine of De Haller. It is based on an unwise fear of democracy and has found little or no favour with ethicists outside Italy. Moreover, it is ethically unsound, for it is apt to confound the juridical with the historical origin of authority. There is, of course, no doubt that civil authority has originated in divers manners, according to diverse circumstances of time and place. Here, it sprang from the gradual evolution of cognate families; there it developed from the colonization of some territory by families of independent origin. Here, undoubtedly, it arose through the military ability and organization of some conqueror; there, it followed on the efforts of a leader or dictator dragging order out of civic chaos. Such is the historical origin of political communities, but such is not, we maintain, the juridical cause welding independent units into a civil organic unity. For, in the first place, a patriarchate cannot be a title to civil sovereignty without the consent of the subject families. Paternal right is restricted to the members of one family, and when they become adults, they are *eo ipso* emancipated from that authority, and become, in their turn, the rulers of their own families. If the original head wishes to extend his authority over the families of his children, he cannot do so without their overt or implicit consent. Hence, if this consent be necessary to transform the paternal right into that of the patriarchal, is it not legitimate to argue analogously that the patriarchal power cannot be changed into that of civil sovereignty without a similar consent? Moreover, the two rights are essentially distinct. That of the patriarchate unites the different families by a bond of filial piety, whereas civil power welds its subjects together by a bond of legal justice. Hence we conclude that the patriarch cannot justly assume political sovereignty unless the various families consent to his doing so.

Feudal or territorial ownership is no whit the better from the ethical standpoint. This presupposes that a certain territory belongs to one person, and that all who dwell therein owe him fealty. The feudal lord works and rules his land primarily for his own advantage, and although his

administration may be benign, yet his subjects have no claim in justice that it should be exercised on their behalf. The essence of civil power, on the other hand, is that it should be exercised for the common good of the governed. It is essentially *ad bonum commune*, and if its wielder ceases to have the common welfare for his object and purpose, he cannot any longer be termed a ruler in the civic sense of the word. ‘*L'état c'est moi*,’ can only be the dictum of a mind disordered by its own personal ambitions and overweening pride. Moreover, can it be seriously maintained that territorial ownership shows *per se* any exclusive aptitude for the position of civil sovereign? History is replete with examples of such owners who have treated their subjects as so many goods and chattels, and not as beings endowed with a rational soul.

Before the present European upheaval made men realize the evil tendency of their intellectual views, historians were accustomed to recount the conquests made by their respective nations without ever questioning their lawfulness. With the extension of the evolutionary hypothesis to Philosophy, the same tendency became so predominant in Ethics that it was considered retrograde to question its validity. Yet, neither the historian, nor the modern ethical writer, could defend the claims even of a just conquest, on any more solid grounds than those of political expediency and physical force. Might, in other words, was considered the source of right, and the cold, brute fact of victory was allowed to over-ride the moral claims of the vanquished. There are, however, few to-day who would any longer subscribe to such a doctrine, for it has now been made abundantly evident by passing events that it is morally invalid. The sword of tribulation has pierced men's hearts, and the law of Nature writ therein is once more revealed in all its clearness. Men now realize that whatever claims conquest may have over the body, it can have none over the soul. To clarify our meaning, let us take the strongest case imaginable for conquest. Let us suppose, for instance, that one nation has grievously outraged the majesty of another, and that the latter cannot obtain either satisfaction or restitution without having recourse to the sword, and that it eventually emerges victorious from a war in which the enemy has been completely routed. According to the Taparelli view, the conqueror may now justly assume the right of sovereignty over the vanquished

race, without its consent, but, in the common Scholastic opinion, which we maintain, such an assumption of regime would be unjust. For, first, justice only demands that the injured nation should obtain from its enemy due satisfaction and ample restitution, together with a guarantee against the repetition of such crimes. But has not the victory which it has achieved satisfied its outraged majesty, and cannot proportionate restitution be obtained either by a war indemnity, or, at least, by despoiling the conquered nation of its treasures? As to guarantees against the repetition of such crimes, the very punishment which the vanquished people has received at the hands of its victor ought to be sufficient to prevent any recurrence thereof in the future. A nation may, in such circumstances, be reduced to a state of misery and slavery, and may, on that account, be bound by the natural law to consent to the victor's sovereignty; but unless that consent be, in some way, obtained, the victor does not possess the right of ruling. The moral obligation of consenting is one thing, the actual consent another.

Again, once you admit the right of a conqueror to ride roughshod over the national aspirations and autonomy of any race, consider the concrete difficulty of deciding the justice of his claims. To-day, for instance, Belgium's autonomy has been swept aside by German conquest, and the Allied Powers denounce that conquest as unjust. Germany, on the other hand, defends her action on the grounds that Belgium resisted the passage of her arms, and thus helped her enemies in a very material manner. Much has been spoken and written on both sides by publicists, statesmen, and even churchmen, in defence of their respective nations. Who, however, amongst us shall decide, with any claim to finality, the justice of the conflicting claims put forward by either party? Austria, in like manner, has driven the Serbian people from its native soil, because it refused to render due satisfaction for the murder of the Archduke. Is Serbian autonomy, therefore, to be a thing of the past?

Finally, we would point out, in this connexion, the inherent weakness of the doctrine that military ability can in itself manifest an exclusive fitness for the complex position of ruler. Great powers of strategy are not necessarily the best for purposes of administration, and the science of war is a poor preparation for the art of peaceful

government. Hence, the conclusion is inevitable, that conquest, however just, is not title to sovereignty, unless it be accompanied by the consent of the conquered people.

This brings us to the less intricate question as to the claims of a dictator, whose honesty and ability have succeeded in dragging order out of civil turmoil, and have thus rescued his country from disintegration and ruin. Such a one, we will suppose, is especially marked out by the circumstances of his time to be alone capable of assuming the reins of government. May he, therefore, justly assume the sovereign power ? Once again, we must logically hold that the consent of the people is necessary to validate his title. He has, undoubtedly, a powerful claim to the gratitude of this people, and they are even bound to elect him as their ruler ; but, without their consent, his claims to gratitude cannot constitute a right to rulership ; while the obligation of consenting, on the people's part, cannot take the place of their actual consent. The right to gratitude is one thing ; the right to sovereignty another ; and the obligation of consenting is not the same as the actual consent.

Any doctrine based on expediency cannot bear the stress and strain of time. It may, perhaps, succeed in helping men over a difficult situation, but, of necessity, its success must be of a transient nature. Taparelli's theory has the note of expediency writ large on its every detail, and that is why it is not only ethically unsound, but even impracticable in the circumstances of the present. The doctrine of Suarez, on the other hand, must have appeared, in the seventeenth century, an extremely dangerous innovation to the royalists and defenders of the divine right of kings. To the more moderate men of the eighteenth century, it must have savoured of reform and revolution ; while in the nineteenth century, it must have seemed reactionary to statesmen and philosophers, who were nurtured on the ideas of Empire and dreamt only of the 'Balance of Power.' But 'tempora mutantur, nos et mutamur in illis.' What was once considered dangerous, revolutionary, and reactionary is now thought to be almost platitudinous, and Suarezian ideas have now come to be treated with deference, and with respect, by writers far removed from any Scholastic influence. Suarezianism is not founded on expediency, but is a systematic unity whose validity has been well tested in the crucible of reason. That is why it has withstood

the corroding effect of time, and now stands as a serious rival to Spencerianism and Hegelianism, when other more favourite theories have gone their way and ceased to be. It is the only doctrine that can give any sound reason for the universal cry which we hear raised on behalf of small nationalities ; and, consequently, if the deliberations of a Peace Conference are to have any permanent effect, they must be based on some theory analogous thereto. Statesmen must now surely see that ethical evolutionary theories are a serious menace to the world's peace, and they must therefore rid themselves of their prejudices, if they would have their decisions accepted by a generation which loves justice and hates hypocrisy. They must not shorten the hand of justice, but must extend it to all those smaller nationalities, which, even before this great war, claimed the inalienable right of nationhood and autonomy. If the wrongs of the past be righted, if the great nations will only allow their weaker brothers to exist in their own soil, to think their own thoughts, and to work out their own natural salvation—if, in a word, they will allow them that divine gift of freedom, independence, and sovereignty, then we may look forward with hope to that peace and prosperity which is the lot of man ordained by Nature's Lawgiver.

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THE LAST STAND FOR THE OLD IRISH PARLIAMENT

By MICHAEL MACDONAGH

THE Irish Parliament assembled for its last session on the afternoon of January 15, 1800. Both Lords and Commons knew the decisive struggle on the fateful question of the Union was at hand. The Opposition recognized there was some reason for misgiving, but they had by no means lost hope of victory. In the previous session, when the proposal for a Union was first submitted to the Commons, the Government were beaten by five. Only the few who were acquainted with the well-laid and perfected plans of the Government for securing a majority were convinced that never again would the Lords and Commons of Ireland be summoned to meet in College Green.

The House of Commons sat all that night debating the question with ever increasing passion and acrimony. Next morning, between seven and eight o'clock, while yet the wax candles were spluttering in the many branching sconces of the great candelabrum that hung from the ceiling, shedding a fitful light on the beautiful chamber and its throng of disordered members, a cheer was heard outside. The doors were flung open, and in came Henry Grattan, a frail and stooped figure, supported on the arms of two other members. The renowned patriot, the orator with the wizard's tongue, had risen from a sick-bed and come back to Parliament—after an absence of over two years—to lead the fight against the Union. His appearance at that particular moment was generally unexpected. It caused a sensation among his own friends just as great as among the supporters of the Government. Only on the preceding afternoon, before the opening of the debate, had the new writ been issued for the vacant seat in the borough of Wicklow for which Grattan was to be nominated. Yet within twelve or fourteen hours the election was duly

completed, and here was Grattan, with the return to the writ, ready to take the oaths and his seat and join in the debate.

In 1797 Grattan, then member for the City of Dublin, had seceded from Parliament. He was a practical statesman as well as an orator of vision. Not that he ever had the handling of affairs of State in office, but that in his aims as leader of the Opposition he was statesmanlike. His programme included the admission of Catholics to Parliament, the abolition of the nomination boroughs, a wider franchise in the cities and towns, and the commutation of tithe, which the Catholics were compelled to pay to the Protestant parsons in addition to the voluntary 'dues' for the support of their own priests. He believed that these reforms would have given to the Irish Parliament the elements of vitality, ordered freedom and permanence, and have laid the foundations for the building up of an Ireland that was economically flourishing as well as politically independent. But he could make no steady headway against the selfishness and venality of the place-men and pensioners on the side of the Government, and he retired from public life, a disappointed man, broken in health and spirits, while Ireland passed through the bloody agony of the Rebellion of '98.

It was to Grattan that the opponents of the Union now turned, with an appeal that he would come back and lead the forces in defence of the Irish Parliament. There was no one of outstanding fame and weight on the popular side in the House of Commons. John Philpot Curran had retired with Grattan. Henry Flood was passed away : he died in 1791, at the age of fifty-nine. The ablest and most distinguished opponent of the Union was the Speaker, John Foster. He had little popular influence outside the House for he was a bigoted opponent of the Catholic claims. Within the House he was hampered by his official position as President of the Assembly. He knew also that the Government regarded his attitude with grave displeasure. If they could have dismissed him they would. 'Considering the Speaker as decidedly hostile,' the Viceroy, Cornwallis wrote to Portland, the Home Secretary, on January 25, 1799, 'I cannot look to the possibility of making Mr. Foster an exception to those principles which have been adopted towards the servants of the Crown who have opposed the Government.' Those servants of the Crown had been

deprived of office, but Cornwallis had forgotten, or did not know, that the Speaker, once appointed, was the servant of the House of Commons, and could only be got rid of by opposing his re-election to the Chair at the opening of a new Parliament. Foster, therefore, remained Speaker to the end. A new member, named William Conyngham Plunket, was making powerful speeches against the Union ; but he laboured under the disadvantages of being young, inexperienced, and unknown in the country. The man that was wanted as leader was Grattan, who for years had worked for Ireland with a fidelity that had never wavered and with a genius of priceless worth ; the tribune whose name was immortally interwoven with the epoch of 1782, the most glorious of the Parliament, when it made its one spring forward and grasped legislative independence. ‘One blast upon his bugle horn were worth ten thousand men.’

Grattan lay ill at Tinnehinch, his beautiful house in County Wicklow, when, at the opening of the year 1800, he was asked by the anti-Unionists to return to Parliament for the new session. One of the members for the town of Wicklow had died during the recess, and the vacant seat was offered to Grattan. He agreed to come back, though he yielded reluctantly, so feeble was he in body and weary in spirit. Shortly before the meeting of Parliament he was conveyed to Dublin ; and, in order to avoid the publicity and noisy distractions of a hotel, was lodged in a friend’s house in Baggot Street. The new writ for Wicklow was moved for on the opening day of the session, Wednesday, January 15, 1800. There were forty other writs for filling up the seats of old members who had either refused to vote for the Union, or intended to vote against it, and were persuaded one way or another—by rewards or by threats—to resign and make way for Unionists. The moment the Wicklow writ was issued, William Tighe, the patron of the borough and its second representative, rode down to the constituency with it in hot haste. By the connivance of the sheriff, who acted as returning officer, the law regulating elections was set aside, so far, at least, as the giving of public notice is concerned ; and matters were so arranged that shortly after midnight Grattan was returned unopposed. An ironic commentary on the constitution of the Irish Parliament in its last hour is afforded by the fact—stated in the correspondence of Cornwallis—that Grattan had to pay £2,400 for the seat

to the patron of the borough. Tighe put the same unremitting speed into riding back to Dublin with the sheriff's return. At five o'clock in the morning of Thursday, January 16, he reached the house in Baggot Street, where Grattan was lodging. Aroused by the loud knocking at the street-door, Grattan exclaimed to his wife : 'Oh, here they come. Why will they not let me die in peace ?'

I shall never forget the scene that followed [said Mrs. Grattan, telling the story, years after, to her son, Henry Grattan the younger]. I told him he must get up immediately and go down to the House ; so we got him out of bed and dressed him. I helped him down stairs. Then he went into the parlour and loaded his pistols, and I saw him put them in his pocket, for he apprehended he might be attacked by the Union party and assassinated. We wrapped a blanket round him, and put him in a sedan chair, and when he left the door I stood there uncertain whether I should ever see him alive again.

She turned to a friend who was with her, saying, 'My husband cannot die better than in defence of his country.'

When he made his dramatic entry into the House of Commons, Grattan was wearing the uniform of one of the corps of the Dublin Independent Volunteers of 1782, scarlet tunic with dark green cuffs and collar, and the cocked hat and plume of his rank as colonel. His face was pale and wizened. He walked feebly, and his bent and emaciated form was supported by his old parliamentary friends, George Ponsonby and Arthur Moore. The veteran tribune was received with a striking demonstration of mingled esteem and affection. It was one of those occasions when the finer qualities of human nature are made manifest. Castlereagh rose from the Treasury Bench, and took off his hat. The Chief Secretary was usually haughty and unemotional. 'As for my friend Castlereagh,' writes Lord Cornwallis, 'he is so cold that nothing can warm him.' But he was exquisitely courteous, as befitted a very handsome man, and the 'smooth-faced minion of Mr. Pitt'—as the Opposition called him—made a gracious figure as he stood by the Clerk's table doing honour to the popular leader and orator, whose opposition in this, the final struggle, he had every reason to fear. The whole House followed the example of the Chief Secretary and remained standing and uncovered while Grattan was being introduced. More remarkable still, the strangers who filled the great gallery burst out into a shout and clapping of hands in violation of all order and decorum.

It was a rule of the Irish House of Commons that a new member could come in at any time and take his seat. On the appearance of Grattan the debate was accordingly interrupted for the ceremony of introduction. Half way up the floor, between the Bar and the table, Grattan stopped, took off his hat, and—as his son declares—‘locked round the House with a steady and fearless eye’—as if to show that though much exhausted by illness his spirit was as dauntless as ever. At the table the oaths were administered to him, and he signed the roll. Then he turned to the Opposition side, on the left of the Speaker, and, amid the loud cheers of the anti-Unionists, took his seat on the second bench beside the youngest defender of the Irish Parliament then in the House, William Conyngham Plunket.

John Egan—‘Bully Egan of Kilmainham,’ so called because he was rough and overbearing and a noted duellist—had risen to speak just as Grattan appeared. Now that Grattan had been introduced Egan again rose and made his speech. He was Chairman of Kilmainham Sessions. The Government threatened him with dismissal if he opposed the Union. ‘Ireland for ever !’ he shouted, ‘and damn Kilmainham !’ When he had now finished Grattan got up, and the crowded House, all attention, awaited in deep silence for an oration, which they knew would be illumined by that intellectual and imaginative insight which penetrates to the very heart of things. In a minute or two Grattan found he was too weak to speak standing ; and the House readily gave him permission to address them sitting down. He began in a broken voice and with faltering utterance ; but soon, summoning to the aid of enfeebled physical faculties, passionate earnestness and devotion to the cause of Ireland, his periods glowed with the moving eloquence, and were delivered with the fiery energy of the patriot and orator of old.

Grattan, in his opening passages, dealt with the public declarations of William Pitt against the continuance of a separate Parliament in Ireland ; and presented a striking contrast between the fates of the Irish rebels who were hanged in 1798, and the English rebel who continued to be Prime Minister. ‘He concurs,’ said Grattan, ‘with the men whom he has hanged in thinking the constitution a grievance, and differs from them in the remedy only ; they proposing to substitute a republic, and he proposing to

substitute the yoke of the British Parliament; the one turns rebel to the King, the Minister a rebel to the constitution.' He then entered upon an elaborate and powerful argument to show that the scheme of a Union was a gross breach of the legislative compact of 1782, entered into by the two countries 'to establish for ever the free and independent existence of the Irish Parliament, and to preserve for ever the unity of Empire.' But though the argument may thus be compressed, an idea of the eloquence with which it was sustained can be but inadequately conveyed.

Well, the Minister has destroyed this constitution [he cried]. To destroy is easy. The edifices of the mind, like the fabrics of marble, require an age to build, but ask only minutes to precipitate; and as the fall of both is an effort of no time so neither is it a business of any strength. A pickaxe and a common labourer will do the one; a little lawyer, a little pimp, a wicked Minister, the other.

The debate lasted for eighteen hours, the speaking on each side being powerful and impassioned. Then the division was taken, and the anti-Union amendment to the Address in reply to the Speech from the Throne was defeated by 138 votes to 96, giving the Government a majority of 42.

A messenger was immediately sent to London with the news for the British Ministry. The *Times* of Monday January 20, 1800, announced that 'yesterday arrived Mr. Bafilico, a King's Messenger, with despatches from Ireland. He left Dublin in the afternoon of Thursday last, and brought over the important result of the first day's debate at the opening of the present session of the Irish Parliament.' The newspaper also publishes a brief message from its Irish correspondent, which evidently was also carried by the King's Messenger. It is dated 'Dublin, January 16, 2 p.m.,' and says:—

The division this morning has exceeded our most sanguine hopes. Grattan came post haste from the borough of Wicklow and spoke two hours in a most vehement manner. He did not arrive till 8 o'clock, and all the anti-Union lawyers were obliged to speak and spin out the debate until his arrival. The town is perfectly quiet. A messenger is going off in an hour with the division.

On the following day, January 21, the *Times* gives a report of Grattan's speech, which fills two columns. It is a finer version, at least in some of its passages, than the one preserved in the collection of Grattan's speeches made

by his son, and edited by Daniel Owen Madden. It is interesting to contrast the concluding passages of the two reports. In the collected speeches the sentences are thus given :—

He proposes to you to substitute the British Parliament in your place, to destroy the body that restored your liberties and to restore that body which destroyed them. Against such a proposition, were I expiring on the floor, I should beg to utter my last breath, and record my dying testimony.

The *Times* report finishes in this way :—

Sir, I say if you surrender your Parliament you surrender yourself up to eternal infamy and your country to irrevocable destruction. I cannot be accused, sir, of personal interest in the counsel which I give. Weak and exhausted as I am, my strength is small, my days, perhaps, but few. I come here possibly to give my last vote, perhaps to expire on your floor ; but it shall be in discharge of the most sacred of duties—the preservation of my country—and my last breath shall be offered on the same altar on which Irish independence is the victim.

Thus began a bitter conflict on the question of the Union, which lasted for close on seven months. It was a conflict between great characters and principles and little mean things, in which the little mean things won. The Speech from the Throne had made no allusion, direct or indirect, to the subject. This opening debate was raised by an amendment to the Address declaratory of the adherence of the House to the constitution established by Grattan in 1782, which was moved by Sir Lawrence Parsons, afterwards the second Earl of Rosse. It was on February 5 that the plan of the Union was unfolded by Castlereagh. In order to have the fullest possible attendance a call of the House was made. Out of the 300 members—though some were ill and a few of the seats were still vacant—as many as 278 answered to their names. The Chief Secretary read a message from the Lord Lieutenant stating that he had the commands of the King, George III, to inform the House that the two Houses of the British Parliament had addressed him in favour of ‘a complete and entire Union between Great Britain and Ireland, to be established by the mutual consent of both Parliaments, founded on equal and liberal principles, on the similarity of laws, constitution and government, and on a sense of mutual interests and affection,’ and that his Majesty had approved the consideration of the question. Castlereagh then moved that a joint address from the

Lords and Commons of Ireland be presented to the Viceroy in support of such a Union. The debate was again protracted. It lasted from four o'clock in the afternoon of February 5, to one o'clock in the afternoon of February 6, but three hours short of the round of the clock. The division was the largest ever known in the Irish House of Commons. Two hundred and seventy-three members took part in it, and the voting was : for the Union, 158 ; against, 115—Government majority, 43. There were also present the Speaker, and the two tellers on each side. Of the twenty-two members absent, most were paired.

The subject came up again on February 17, when the Commons went into Committee on the resolutions submitted by Castlereagh. As the Speaker could only join in a debate when the House was in Committee and he had left the Chair, this gave John Foster the opportunity of moving a hostile amendment to the resolutions and supporting it in a speech of two hours' duration. He said the Union would leave to Ireland every appendage of a kingdom, except 'what constitutes the essence of independence, a resident Parliament.' He prophesied that trade and revenue would diminish under a Union. But even if he were assured that they would flourish under a Union his opposition to a Union would still remain. 'I declare most solemnly,' he said, 'that if England could give us all her revenue and all her trade I would not barter for them the free constitution of my country. Our wealth, our properties, our personal exertions are all devoted to her support. Our freedom is our inheritance, and with it we cannot barter.' The amendment was rejected by 161 votes to 115, a majority of 46. This debate showed that personal animosities had arisen among the protagonists on each side to give a sharper edge to their political differences. Isaac Corry, who was appointed Chancellor of the Exchequer in place of Sir Henry Parnell—dismissed because of his faithfulness to the Irish Parliament—was the most powerful speaker on the side of the Union. He made a virulent and what seems also to have been a gratuitous and perverse attack on Grattan. But its object was to discredit the leader of the Opposition. Corry charged Grattan with having incited the Rebellion of 1798 and stigmatized him as 'an unimpeached traitor.' In reference to the landed estate voted to Grattan by the grateful Irish Parliament in 1782, at a cost of £50,000, Corry

described Grattan as ‘a pensioned tribune of the Irish nation.’ The gift had never hampered Grattan’s freedom of political action. Therefore the taunt was spiteful in the extreme. Corry had reason to regret having uttered it. For Grattan had another weapon which men were afraid of, besides his tongue, and that was his pistol. Corry was given an unpleasant taste of both. Grattan retaliated in an unexampled strain of invective. Bully Egan had once called the orator—frail and slender of build—‘a duodecimo volume of abuse.’ He now denied that he had encouraged the Rebellion, or in any way sympathized with it. He thought, however, that ‘the treason of the Minister against the liberties of the people was infinitely worse than the rebellion of the people against the Minister.’ ‘I agree,’ he said ‘that the rebel who rises against the Government should have suffered, but,’ pointing to Castlereagh, he added, ‘I missed on the scaffold the right hon. gentleman.’ Dealing with Corry he said :—

I will not call him villain, because it would be unparliamentary, and he is a privy councillor ; I will not call him fool, because he happens to be Chancellor of the Exchequer. But I say he is one who has abused the privilege of Parliament and freedom of debate by the uttering of language which, if spoken out of the House, I should answer only with a blow. I care not how high his station, how low his character, how contemptible his speech, whether he be a privy councillor or a parasite, my answer would be—a blow.

He went on :—

The right hon. member has told me I deserted a profession where wealth and station were the reward of industry and talent. If I mistake not, he endeavoured to obtain those rewards by the same means ; but he soon deserted the occupation of a barrister for those of a parasite and pander. He fled from the study to flatter at the table of the great. He found my lord’s parlour a better sphere for his exertions than the Hall of the Four Courts ; the house of a great man a more convenient way to power and to place ; and that it was easier for a statesman of middling talents to sell his friends than for a lawyer of no talents to sell his clients.

There was wild uproar in the House. Members could be seen with clenched fists and drawn lips ferociously showing their teeth as they shouted. The code of honour of the time demanded that both parties in such a parliamentary encounter should seek reparation in a duel. But the standing orders of the Commons declared that a duel arising out of words spoken in the House was a breach of privilege, and, accordingly, the Speaker sent instructions to the sheriffs of Dublin to arrest Grattan and Corry the

moment they emerged into College Green. Both, however, remained in the precincts of the House until early morning, when they slipped out by a back way, disguised, and went with their respective seconds to Ball's Bridge, a couple of miles outside the city. The news had spread abroad, and a crowd was already gathered. 'On the ground the people cheered me,' says Grattan, in an account of the affair. Then the sheriffs appeared and the antagonists ran off, accompanied by their supporters, and the crowd hustled the officers of the law into a ditch. 'Fire,' cried the seconds. Grattan was uninjured; Corry was wounded in the arm. 'Corry,' says Grattan, 'was lying on the ground when I went up to him, and he gave me his bleeding hand.'

In the House of Lords the resolutions were moved by the Lord Chancellor—John Fitzgibbon, Earl of Clare—and adopted by a majority of 49, the voting being 75 for and 26 against. Then the scene shifts for a while to England. On April 2 the resolutions of the Irish Parliament were submitted by William Pitt, the Prime Minister, to the House of Commons at Westminster. Charles Grey (afterwards the second Earl Grey), acting in association with the Irish Opposition, moved that an address be presented to the King praying his Majesty to direct his Ministers to suspend further action until the opinions of the Irish people in regard to a Union were ascertained at a general election. It is interesting to note that in his speech Grey—who was Prime Minister when the Reform Bill of 1832 was carried—contributed to the long list of unfulfilled political prophecies. He said he was apprehensive that the hundred Irish members to be returned to the United Parliament would always be strong and unwavering supporters of the Tories, and that with their advent, therefore, all hope of reform might be abandoned. It is a matter of history that all the great reforms were supported—and some even carried—by the votes of the Irish members. The motion was defeated by 236 votes to 30, a majority of 206, and by May 8 the resolutions had passed both Houses of the British Parliament.

The question of consulting the people of Ireland, which was raised by Charles Grey in the British Parliament, was raised at an earlier stage in the Irish Parliament by Sir Henry Parnell. He moved, on March 13, that an address be presented to the King to dissolve Parliament and take

the sense of the country before a final decision was come to in regard to a Union. This was seconded by Lord Corry. The Government opposed the motion, and it was defeated by a majority of 46, the voting being 104 for and 150 against. The question thus arises, Had the members of the Irish Parliament, whether supporters or opponents of the Union, the mandate of their constituencies? Undoubtedly, they had not. They were elected in 1797. That was on the eve of the Rebellion, and at a time when not even the faintest whisper of a Union being in contemplation was heard either in Dublin Castle or in College Green. The plan subsequently originated in the mind of the Ministry, without any inspiration from the country, and was carried through without scruple; in ignorance, to say the least, of the wishes of the people. Dublin, at first, was aflame with indignation. The public gallery of the House of Commons was anti-Union in sentiment during the debates of 1800. It hissed the Government and cheered the Opposition, in contempt of all rules of order. The measure was bitterly hated by the populace. When the House broke up after the first debate on January 16, the crowd assembled in College Green groaned and hustled the supporters of the Union. For the remainder of the session a strong force of military was lodged in a wing of the Parliament House to overawe the community.

What would have happened had the question been submitted to the country at a general election is a matter of speculation. It is contended that the mass of the people were too far remote from the centre of the controversy to study it or understand it, and too much occupied with their own personal affairs to feel interested in the fate of an institution which, it must be confessed, they had no reason to love. Moreover, the country was prostrate, and it might well have been affrighted, after the failure of the Rebellion of 1798 and the terrorism of martial law that followed it. In such a dire extremity no people could be expected to be much concerned as to the fate of a Parliament which had given all its aid to the merciless repressive measures of the Government. Indeed, it was a saying of the people that the Union, like turtle soup, venison, and sherry, was a luxury only to be discussed by their betters. On the other hand, the Catholics, who composed the majority of the electorate as well as the population, were, naturally, intensely national. Out of the four or five million inhabitants

of Ireland only 800,000 were non-Catholics. It was only in 1793 that the Catholics were given the vote. Before that the electorate numbered about 50,000 in the counties, and 20,000 in the cities, towns, and boroughs. The extension of the franchise to Catholics tripled the number of electors, and though the hope held out by the Government, if the promise was not actually given, that the Union would be followed by Catholic emancipation—the admission of Catholic members to the Imperial Parliament— influenced some of the Catholic Bishops favourably to view the incorporation of the legislatures, the mass of the people, had there been a general election, would have responded to the call of a man like Grattan, and crushed the measure by their weight of numbers.

But, as things were, even Grattan, the gallant fighter, succumbed to the numbing feeling that the battalions in Parliament were on the side of the Union. His final appearance in the House of Commons was on May 26. On that day he made the last of his four brilliant anti-Union speeches. It was in support of his motion for the rejection of the Union Bill, in which the resolutions already carried by both Parliaments, the Irish and the British, had been embodied. The majority of the Government, in support of the second reading of the Bill, was reduced to 37. As the division was being taken Buck Whaley, member for Enniscorthy, remained in the House with the ‘noes’ as a supporter of Grattan. ‘You are mistaken; the “ayes” go out,’ said Edward Cooke, the Under-Secretary, to him. Hitherto Whaley had voted for the Union. ‘I am not mistaken,’ said he to Cooke. ‘This time I vote against the Union.’ He was paid £4,000 by the anti-Unionists to change sides; bribed, in fact, to become a patriot. This curious incident helps to explain the drop in the Government majority. Then Grattan left the House, frustrated by a situation and circumstances that were too strong for him, but he left with confidence in the future of his country undimmed; expressing his hopes by the eloquent and imaginative use of that beautiful and felicitous quotation from Romeo in Juliet’s tomb:—

Yet I do not give up my country. I see her in a swoon, but she is not dead. Though in her tomb she lies helpless and motionless, still there is on her lips a spirit of life and on her cheeks a glow of beauty:

‘Thou art not conquered; beauty’s ensign yet
Is crimson in thy lips and in thy cheeks,
And death’s pale flag is not advanced there.’

The last stages of the Union Bill were taken in the House of Commons in June. On the 6th of that month the measure was reported to the House as having passed through Committee. Castlereagh moved that the Bill be engrossed. This motion meant in the Irish Parliament that the Bill could not further be amended. Then a roar of contempt arose from the Opposition. Mr. O'Donnell, of County Donegal, moved that the Bill be burned. 'By the common hangman,' added Mr. Tighe. 'An insult to the House,' cried the supporters of the Government. The Speaker ruled that O'Donnell's motion was not censurable as an insult to the House. He was of opinion, however, that it could not supersede the question which had been moved; and having put that question—that the Bill be engrossed—declared it carried. On the next day, June 7, the Union Bill came up for third reading. The anti-Unionists moved its rejection by the amendment, 'That it be read a third time on January 2, 1801'—the day after the date appointed for its coming into effect—but were defeated. Then came the final stage, 'That the Bill do pass.' The scene is thus unemotionally recorded in the Commons Journals: 'A motion was made, and the question being put that the said Bill do pass, and the title be, An Act for the Union of Great Britain and Ireland; it was carried in the affirmative.' No strangers were present when the extinction of the Irish Parliament was thus pronounced by the Irish House of Commons. According to a contemporary account in a Dublin newspaper, Plunket charged Castlereagh with having carried the Bill by bribery. They were the last words said against the Union in the Irish House of Commons. 'A cry of "order" and "chair" resounded from both sides of the House,' says the contemporary newspaper account, 'until at length the gallery was cleared and strangers were not admitted until the House adjourned.' The report also states that, before the final question 'That the Bill do pass,' was put, most of the anti-Unionists had left the House. This is confirmed by R. L. Edgeworth, father of Maria Edgeworth, the novelist, in his *Memoirs*. He was one of the members for the borough of St. John's Town, Co. Longford. He states that towards the close of the debate one of the anti-Unionists said he would not remain in the House to hear its death-warrant read from the Chair. 'When he sat down,' says Edgeworth, 'I rose from my seat, went to the

Bar and, bowing to the Chair, withdrew. I was followed by Mr. George Ponsonby and by some other members whose names I do not now remember.' His daughter, who edited the *Memoirs*, mentions that when she showed this passage to Foster, the Speaker, in 1817, and asked whether he remembered the incident, he assured her it was all perfectly in his recollection. One of the staunchest anti-Unionists of them all, the Speaker, could not leave. It was his duty to put the question from the Chair. 'The "ayes" have it,' said he, in a voice broken by grief and humiliation. 'The fatal sentence was now pronounced,' writes Sir Jonah Barrington (an anti-Unionist member who was present on that historic occasion) in a well-known passage; 'for an instant the Speaker stood statue-like; then indignantly and with disgust flung the Bill upon the table and sank into his Chair with an exhausted spirit.'

The Commons Journals state that the Chief Secretary was appointed to carry the Bill to the Lords and desire their concurrence. Castlereagh, no doubt, was very proud and exultant as he walked across the lobbies that evening, accompanied by most of his supporters, and at the Bar of the House of Lords handed the Union Bill to Lord Chancellor Clare. The concurrence of the Lords was a matter of course. The Bill passed so rapidly through all its stages that by June 13 the end had come. On that day the question was put by the Lord Chancellor, 'Whether this Bill shall pass?' What happened is thus recorded in the Lords Journals: 'The House divided, and the Lord Tyrawly reported that the contents below the Bar were forty-one; and the non-contents in the House were fourteen. Proxies being called in and read over by the Clerk, the Lord Chancellor declared that the contents with proxies were seventy-three, and the non-contents with proxies were twenty-one.' Accordingly, the question was 'resolved in the affirmative.' Eighteen temporal peers and two Bishops, headed by the Duke of Leinster, entered a protest against the Union in the Journals of the House of Lords. Having failed in their opposition to the Union they desired, they said, to pass down to after times their names appended to a solemn protest. 'This we feel called upon to do in support of our characters, our honour and whatever is left to us worthy to be transmitted to our posterity.' The two Bishops were Dr. Dickson, Down and Connor, and

Dr. Marlay, Waterford and Lismore. The temporal peers were Leinster, Arran, Mountcashel, Farnham, Belmore, Massy, Strangford, Granard, Ludlow, Moira, Powerscourt, De Vesci, Charlemont, Kingston, Riverdale, Meath, Lismore, and Sunderlin.

The Royal Assent was given to the Act by the Viceroy on August 1, 1800. Of that historic scene in the Irish House of Lords the only account extant, so far as I know, has been written by Thomas De Quincey, author of the *Confessions of an English Opium Eater*, of all people then in the world. Many miscellaneous papers on a variety of subjects have come from his pen. One of these is a little known essay called 'Dublin,' and deals autobiographically with a visit he paid to the Irish capital in the year 1800, as a guest of Lord Westport (son of the Earl of Altamont, a member of the Irish House of Lords), who, he says, was his school-fellow. De Quincey was only fifteen at the time, but the sketch was written long after and appeared in Tait's *Edinburgh Magazine* in 1834. Lord Altamont got him a place in the House of Lords, with Lord Westport, to see the giving of the Royal Assent to the Union Bill, which was the last ceremony of the kind in the Irish Parliament. The chamber was crowded and ladies sat on the benches with the peers. The Commons were summoned to the Bar. Castlereagh was conspicuous at their head. 'The Bill received the Royal Assent without a muttering or a whispering, or the protesting echo of a sigh,' says De Quincey. 'Perhaps there might be a little pause—a silence like that which follows an earthquake; but there was no plain-spoken Lord Belhaven, as on a corresponding occasion in Edinburgh, to fill up the silence with, "So there's an end of an auld sang!"' He adds: 'All was, or looked, courtly, free from vulgar emotion. One person only I remarked, whose features were suddenly illuminated by a smile, a sarcastic smile, as I read it, which, however, might be all a fancy. It was Lord Castlereagh, who, at the moment when the irrevocable words were pronounced, looked with a penetrating glance amongst a party of ladies. His own wife was one of the party, but I did not discover the particular object on whom his smile had settled.' De Quincey's last comment is: 'After this I had no leisure to be interested in anything which followed. "You are all," I thought to myself, "a pack of vagabonds henceforward, and interlopers, with actually no more right to be here than myself. I am an

intruder, so are you.''' The House, he noticed, dispersed much more rapidly than it had assembled.

In no degree can the Act be said to have been moulded in the Irish Parliament. In the shape in which it was originally introduced it was forced through all its stages in both Houses, by the dead weight of the Government majorities, without alteration or amendment. The day appointed for the incorporating Union of Great Britain and Ireland becoming an accomplished fact was January 1, 1801. To carry it out two other Acts were passed. One remodelled the Irish representative system in the Imperial Parliament. The other appropriated £1,400,000 'to enable his Majesty to make just and equitable allowances to bodies corporate and individuals in respect of towns and boroughs which shall cease to return members to Parliament,' and appointing five commissioners to award the compensation.

Meanwhile the Union Bill had been carried also through the British Parliament. It was finally passed in the Commons by a majority of 182, the voting being 208 for and 26 against; and by a majority of 68 in the Lords, or, for, 75, and against, 7. On July 2 the Act of the British Parliament received the royal assent.

This great measure, on which my wishes have been long earnestly bent [said George III, bringing the session to a close on July 27], I shall ever consider as the happiest event of my reign; being persuaded that nothing could so effectually contribute to extend to my Irish subjects the full participation of the blessings derived from the British Constitution, and to establish, on the most solid foundation, the strength, prosperity, and power of the whole Empire.

On August 2, the Irish Parliament held its final meeting. There was a touch of the ironic and absurd in the very last things recorded in the Journals as having been done by both Houses before they were dissolved for ever. In the Commons a new writ was issued to fill a vacancy caused by the making of one of the several peerages which were conferred upon supporters of the Union. Here is the entry in the Commons Journals: 'That Mr. Speaker do issue his warrant to the Clerk of the Crown to make out a new writ for electing a burgess to serve in this present Parliament for the borough of Dingle-I-Couch, in the county of Kerry, in the room of the Right Hon. Lodge Morres, called up to the House of Peers by the state and title of Lord Baron Frankfort.'

From the Lords Journals we learn that the last Act passed by the Irish Parliament was : ‘An Act to dissolve the marriage of Alexander Montgomery, Esq., Captain in his Majesty’s Monaghan regiment, with Mary Montgomery, otherwise Chute, his now wife, and to enable him to marry again.’ The Lords Journals also thus describe the closing scene in the Upper House :—

His Excellency Charles Marquis Cornwallis, Lord Lieutenant General and General Governor of Ireland, being arrayed in royal robes, entered the House with the usual ceremonies of grandeur, the Earl of Westmeath carrying the Cap of Maintenance, and the Earl of Athlone the Sword of State, two noblemen’s sons bearing the train of the royal robe. His Excellency the Lord Lieutenant making his *congé* to the Throne, ascended the same, and seated himself in the Chair of State under the Canopy ; all the Lords spiritual and temporal standing robed in their places, uncovered.

Then Bryan Connor, ‘Black Rod,’ was sent to summon the Commons for the last time to the House of Lords. When Foster, the Speaker, Castlereagh, the Chief Secretary, and other Ministers, with a body of their supporters, came to the Bar, the Lord Lieutenant made a speech which was obviously intended to be an appeal equally to sentiment and to common sense. ‘I am persuaded,’ said he, ‘that the great measure which is now accomplished could never have been effected but by a decided conviction on your part that it would tend to restore and preserve the tranquillity of this country, to increase its commerce and manufactures, to perpetuate its connexion with Great Britain and to augment the resources of the Empire.’ He asked them not to fail to impress that opinion on the minds of their fellow-subjects ; and concluded in a vein to quicken the hope of the happiest issues from the Union.

Above all, you will be studious to inculcate the full conviction that united with the people of Great Britain into one Kingdom, governed by the same Sovereign, protected by the same laws, and represented in the same Legislature, nothing will be wanting on their part but a spirit of industry and order to ensure to them the full advantages under which the people of Great Britain have enjoyed a greater degree of prosperity security, and freedom than has ever yet been experienced by any other nation. The Empire is now, through your exertion, so completely united and by union so strengthened, that it can bid defiance to all the efforts its enemies may make, either to weaken it by division or to overturn it by force. Under the protection of the Divine Providence, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland will, I trust, remain in all future ages the fairest monument of his Majesty’s reign, already distinguished by so many and such various blessings conferred upon every class and description of his subjects.

So the lights were put out in College Green. A mysterious feature of the passing of the Union was the silence and invisibility in which, for the most part, it was shrouded from the country. The Press seems to have been strangely indifferent to the momentous interest of the proceedings in Parliament. I have gone through the files of the leading Dublin newspapers of the time only to find reports of the most meagre and unsatisfying kind. Great events are dismissed in a few bald lines, if, indeed, they are recorded at all. *Saunders News Letter* of June 9, 1800, contents itself with publishing the simple statement: 'The Union Bill has passed through the House of Commons.' In the issue for August 5, there is this brief paragraph: 'Yesterday his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant proceeded in state to the House of Lords to give the royal assent to Bills lately transmitted from England, and among them the Act of Union.'

That is all that is said about the end of the Irish Parliament! Not a word of editorial comment, approving or condemning, is uttered! What is the explanation of this apparent insensibility, this bluntness of perception or understanding, in regard to great events in the making? Did the newspapers so act by reason of menacing instructions from Dublin Castle? Were they rigorously censored? Henry Grattan the younger says, in the biography he has written of his father, that the newspapers were afraid to publish accounts of the debates. He also states that the members of the Opposition who took part in the debates wrote out their speeches, which they entrusted for publication in pamphlet form to 'a person named Moore,' probably James Moore, the printer. Foster, the Speaker, doubted the honesty of Moore, saying he was sure he would betray them. This prediction was verified, according to Grattan, for Moore was got at by the Government. 'Lord Castlereagh, by means of Mr. Cooke (Under-Secretary), gave a large sum of money for them,' Grattan declares, 'and the manuscripts, speeches, pamphlets, etc., were brought to the Castle and there burned.' 'Thus perished,' he says, 'some of the finest specimens of eloquence.' Thus it is that no adequate reports of the Union debates are extant in pamphlet or newspaper.

Popular excitement had subsided. 'There was not a murmur in the street, nor, I believe, an expression of ill-humour throughout the whole city of Dublin,' Cornwallis

asserts in one of his private letters. An exaggeration, no doubt. There was gloom and despondency in the capital, and in the country generally. But it is true to say that in the last stand for the Irish Parliament popular feeling rose at first to a great height of emotion and sank gradually to a quiet and mournful close. At the dark and ghostly end it was like the hopeless wail of the banshee over the prostrate form of Kathleen-ni-Houlihan.

MICHAEL MACDONAGH.

IS ALCOHOL A FOOD ?

BY VERY REV. THOMAS F. CANON MACKEN, P.P., V.F.

IT may be said that one of the most notable changes in the social life of the nations which the present war has produced is the world-movement in the direction of Temperance. In the early stages of the war it was announced in the public Press that the consumption of vodka, the national beverage, was altogether forbidden in Russia. Later on France followed suit in giving up absinthe, the most dangerous of the alcoholic drinks consumed in that country. And now comes the welcome announcement that, in the year 1916, the consumption of spirits, compared with the previous year, fell off in the British Isles by nearly fifty per cent., and further, that there has been a considerable, though not such a notable, reduction in the consumption of beer.

It is well known, too, though accurate statistics are not available, that the consumption of strong drink is much restricted in enemy countries. But what is much more remarkable is the fact that a great wave of Temperance is passing over America, particularly over the Western States. This is surprising, for the general rule is that the consumption of alcohol varies with the prosperity of a country, and, though America is at the present time passing through a period of prosperity altogether without parallel, yet the cause of Temperance is gaining ground and advancing with the national prosperity.

Similar restrictions in the consumption of alcohol, though not to such a remarkable extent, are to be observed in most of the other neutral countries. When such are the prevailing conditions the time seems most opportune for examining the vital question of the true value of alcohol and alcoholic drink. The question might be discussed purely from a moral point of view, and, amongst other aspects, the economic side of the subject might be profitably considered.

It is proposed, however, in the present article to confine the examination to the question : Is alcohol a food ? and then to inquire incidentally into a somewhat kindred

question : How far is there in the human subject a craving for alcoholic drink derived from one of the great fundamental desires ? In discussing the question whether alcohol is a food the aim of the writer, who can, of course, make no claim to original research, is to endeavour from first to last to arrive at the truth, apart altogether from its influence on the Temperance movement. And with this object in view he not only cites authorities, on one side and the other, but his chief care is to give, as fairly as possible, the reasons advanced for the different views by those who hold them. It is right, however, to observe that very extensive experiments have recently been carried out in most countries on the general effects of alcohol on the human body ; and that, as a result of these investigations, many new discoveries have been made regarding the effects of alcohol, and much knowledge has been gained which a few years ago was unknown even to the medical profession. The older writers are often lacking in scientific force, and compare unfavourably with those who are acquainted with recent discoveries.

Coming, then, to the question, Is alcohol a food ? it is obviously of the highest importance to have a clear idea of what is meant by the word food. Much of the difference of opinion amongst authorities arises from using the term, food, in a loose sense, as, for example, when it is applied to any substance that is oxidized or burned up in the body, in which sense poison may be regarded as food. But this cannot be taken as a recognized definition, and standard writers generally agree that food is a substance that supplies material for the growth and renewal of tissue and for maintaining warmth and developing force. ‘Food,’ says Chalmers Watson, ‘is required for two purposes, to build up the body and repair tissue waste, and to supply potential energy which can be converted into heat and work.’ ‘A food,’ says Sir Victor Horsley, ‘may be defined as any substance which, when absorbed into the blood, will nourish, repair waste, and furnish force and heat to the body, without causing injury to any of its parts or loss of functional activity.’ It is generally agreed, then, that substances used as food act in several ways, viz. :

1. In producing energy.
2. In maintaining the heat of the body.
3. In building up tissue.
4. In saving of waste of the tissues.

Now, alcohol fails to satisfy these conditions, and it cannot, therefore, be regarded as a genuine food-stuff.

1. *As regards the production of energy*, it is now clearly proved that alcohol, even when taken in small, so-called dietetic quantities, does not produce energy, but, on the contrary, diminishes the output of work both in quality and in quantity. This holds true in reference to both mental and muscular work. As to the intellectual processes, it is well known that alcohol attacks the highest centres and functions of the individual before those of organic life. Professor Kraepelin has made extensive experiments in this branch of the subject, continued over many years, and has shown conclusively that mental work, both as to quality and speed, is injuriously affected by even small doses of alcohol. Other experts, after accumulating a very large amount of scientific observation, have arrived at similar conclusions. Helmholtz, one of the greatest thinkers of the nineteenth century, observed that, in himself, the smallest quantity of alcohol interfered with the highest powers of thought and conception. Then, again, in reference to muscular action the same holds true. It is beyond question that alcoholic drink diminishes the tone and reduces the contracting power of the muscles. And hence athletes, swimmers, cyclists, runners, rowers make it a rule to abstain from all intoxicating drink whilst preparing for their contests. Prolonged experiments on large bodies of men, where the personal element is excluded, such as upon armies marching, and in the field, all point in the same direction. And it is now quite recognized that when there is question of great exertions total abstinence is a necessity.

The instance of the workers on the Great Western Railway of England is well known. The Company decided to change from broad to narrow gauge along a distance of 200 miles. Five thousand skilled workmen were collected, and the huge task was completed in thirty-one hours. The Directors, guided by previous experience, decided that not a drop of intoxicating drink should be allowed, the only drink permitted being a thin gruel, made from boiled water with a little oatmeal, about ten tons of oatmeal being used. The chief engineers stated that it was owing to the use of this drink and no other that the men were able to undergo this extraordinary exertion.

2. *Supplying heat to the body*.—When alcohol is consumed

a certain amount is oxidized or burnt up in the system, and some writers have, therefore, contended that it must contribute warmth to the body. No doubt this oxidation or combustion begets heat, but this heat is at once dissipated through the skin. In the human subject one of the main functions of the skin is to regulate the temperature of the body, and this is accomplished by means of the thousands of tiny blood-vessels that run through the skin. When these are enlarged or dilated a large quantity of blood in the body comes to the surface and is rapidly cooled, as the surrounding air is cooler than the body. The immediate effect of alcohol is to dilate these blood-vessels, and, whilst this dilation continues, large quantities of blood come to the surface, and the temperature of the body is rapidly lowered. This radiation of heat causes a lowering of the temperature of the body, which varies generally from one-half to two or three degrees below the normal. As a consequence, when persons drink to excess they always experience a feeling of cold when recovering, and sometimes, when such persons are exposed to severe cold, the vital organs fail to act and death results. When excessive drinking is continued a state of chronic congestion of the blood-vessels of the skin is induced, from which arises the purplish appearance of the face seen in those who take much alcohol.

In no other respect are the effects of alcohol so deceptive and so dangerous as in regard to this heat production. For, whilst it is certain that it actually lowers the temperature, yet the warmth of the skin produces a sense of well-being and comfort, and countless thousands are driven to take glass after glass in the vain hope of warding off depression, and maintaining the feeling of exhilaration which they first experienced.

Horsley explains the apparent contradiction of feeling warmer when no heat has been added to the body. 'The flow of blood to the surface, of course, warms the skin, and the ends of the nerves in the skin, and these nerves, which are very sensitive, convey to the brain a feeling of warmth. But this does not really mean that heat has been added to the body. For instance, in blushing there is a feeling of heat, but needless to say the body is not really any warmer, the blushing being merely due to the temporary dilation of vessels whereby a sudden diversion of warm blood to the surface occurs.'

Besides this surface radiation of heat which follows on the consumption of alcohol, a certain amount of the loss must also be attributed to the delayed metabolism of the tissues. By metabolism is meant the healthy chemical activities which are regularly taking place in the body. These chemical activities produce warmth, and the greater the chemical action, the greater the amount of total heat evolved. Whatever, therefore, reduces the metabolic or chemical activities of the tissues reduces the formation of heat in the body. Alcoholic liquor lessens these activities and thus causes a lowering of the temperature. The administration of ether or chloroform produces similar results.

3. *Alcohol possesses no power of building up or repairing tissue.*—The recognized food-stuffs—milk, bread, eggs, and meat—all help to form tissue; they are genuine building materials which may be used to repair the daily wear and tear of the tissues. But alcohol does not possess this power of building up tissue. This is absolutely true, if by alcohol is meant the particular element which gives alcoholic beverages their intoxicating quality. And, speaking of the beverages themselves, Liebig, the renowned chemist, stated that as a nutritive or building material the value of alcohol was negligible. ‘We can,’ he says, ‘prove with mathematical certainty that as much flour or meal as would lie on the point of a table-knife is more nutritious than nine quarts of the best beer.’ The *Lancet* says that in 1000 grains of wine there are $1\frac{1}{2}$ grains of nourishment, and beef is 156 times more nourishing than wine. As regards stout, it has been proved by experiment that there is only one part of nutritive matter in every 1666 parts of this liquid, so that one gallon contains less than one teaspoonful of nourishment. In all alcoholic beverages the fraction of nourishment they contain, infinitesimal though it is, is derived not from the alcohol but from the water, albumen, sugar, or other elements contained in these liquors. The point may be illustrated by a comparison with skim milk. Skim milk as a food is imperfect, not because there is something in the milk which ought not to be there, but because something is wanting; add the missing fat, and it becomes a perfect food. On the other hand, alcohol, like all poisons, is itself harmful to the tissues, and the added material in intoxicating beverages cannot alter that fact, or make the mixture a tissue builder or genuine food.

4. Prevention of tissue waste.—It was for a long time believed that strong drink had the power of saving tissue waste, or, in other words, diminishing the elimination of nitrogen ; and this belief was widely entertained to as late a period as the year 1888. But of late years the methods of investigation have been much improved, and the evidence now shows that in no case does the taking of alcohol delay tissue waste, but in some cases, especially in those unaccustomed to its use, alcohol causes a more rapid breaking down of the tissues.

Even Professor Atwater, so often quoted in favour of the view that alcohol is a food, admits that it is incapable of preventing nitrogenous waste, or saving the tissues. The reason is that alcohol is a poison, and has a directly poisonous and destructive action on the tissues. A useful food, such as albumen, helps to reconstruct the living tissues ; alcohol, however, gives no such reconstructive help, but, on the contrary, by its poisonous influence, increases destruction over and above the ordinary bodily waste.

5. If, in addition to the four qualities of food discussed above, it is further required, as an essential for a food-stuff, that it causes no injury or loss of functional activity to any part of the body, then it will be readily agreed that alcohol cannot possibly be regarded as a true food. For when this liquor is taken into the system, unlike real food-stuff, it undergoes hardly any alteration in the stomach by the digestive processes, but, being absorbed through the stomach, and circulating in the blood in its original form, it at once disturbs the mental and physical activities. To mention a few of its evil effects, alcohol retards the working of the brain, disturbs the pulse-rate and the natural healthy temperature ; the drug has a deleterious influence on all the tissues of the body, and more particularly on the liver and kidneys, together with the nervous respiratory and circulatory systems. From this point of view, therefore, alcohol cannot possibly be looked upon as a genuine food.

It is convenient to deal here with a popular difficulty to which many persons attach much importance : they ask how it is that, if alcoholic drinks are not nourishing, people so often get fat and put on weight as a consequence of taking them ? This obesity is due, in a word, to the delayed or deficient oxidation of tissue caused by alcohol. The cells of the body are continually wearing out, and many of those that are useless become fatty as a preparatory

stage before being finally oxidized or burnt up, as waste matter is consumed by fire. And when this combustion is delayed the useless cells, which would normally be quickly burnt up, add to the weight and volume of the body. Now this delay in combustion or oxidation is admittedly caused by alcohol, for on account of its affinity for oxygen it absorbs from the tissues the oxygen necessary for their combustion, and the subject becomes obese and corpulent. Persons in this condition of obesity feel a disinclination for any form of exercise or muscular movement, being unable to lead the active energetic life of a healthy individual. But, when such persons change their habits and abstain from alcohol, it is found that the fatty substance is gradually burnt away, with a consequent reduction in weight, and they regain their former good looks, and the feeling of abounding health and vigour. The increase in weight, then, which follows on the consumption of alcohol is not due to any nutritive quality in the liquor, but to the actual slowing down of the bodily processes, thus retaining in the tissues unhealthy material which should be rapidly burnt away and eliminated from the system.

Passing now from the argument against alcohol being a food to consider the further question, On which side are the greatest names to be found ? it cannot be denied that the overwhelming weight of authority is in favour of the view that alcohol is not a food. It must be always borne in mind that it is only within the last fifteen or twenty years that this question has been thoroughly and systematically investigated. And in this brief period so great has been the change of view that, nowadays, medical men hardly ever hold opinions in favour of alcohol. As the years go by its supporters are steadily dwindling, whilst those who have made a close study of the subject have rejected it altogether, and statements often set down as the vociferation of faddists and fanatics are universally accepted by all modern experts. And it is worthy of particular note that some of the very greatest authorities, Professor Richardson, Professor Kraepelin, Professor Madden and others, were in favour of alcohol when they began their researches, but they afterwards changed their opinions and became strong opponents of alcohol in every form.

There are, however, one or two recent declarations in favour of the view that alcohol is a food which are deserving

of special notice. A few years ago a manifesto was issued by sixteen prominent members of the medical profession, and published in the London *Lancet*, which, amongst other things, stated : 'As an article of diet . . . the moderate use of alcoholic beverages is for adults usually beneficial.' Now, it may be pointed out in reply that practically the whole weight of medical opinion is on the other side. At the time that the *Lancet* article appeared inquiries were made by representatives of the Press amongst the leading physicians and temperance scientists in London and New York, and not one of them agreed with the *Lancet* manifesto. This declaration by sixteen men might be contrasted with a petition against alcohol signed by 14,718 medical men, and presented to the English Board of Education in July, 1904, or again, with the emphatic declaration made by 600 eminent physicians of Holland, who wrote : 'The moderate use of strong drinks is always unhealthy, even when the body is in a healthy condition. It does not do any good to the digestion but even interferes with the process.' And, passing on to the examination of the statement itself, its very terms clearly indicate the hesitancy and diffidence of its authors—for, if alcohol is an article of diet, the limitations 'for adults' and 'moderate use' are strange and unmeaning. It appeals, however, with particular force to the extensive class who claim to be moderate drinkers, and who will not admit for a moment that strong drink, taken in moderation, can have any evil consequences. It is a fact, nevertheless, that with the steady advance of alcoholic science smaller and smaller quantities have been suggested as innocuous, and the result of recent investigation is that it is impossible to state that any quantity can be fixed as a minimum which is harmless to the tissues.

Besides the *Lancet* declaration, Professor Atwater, a distinguished American chemist, startled the medical world a few years ago by stating that alcohol was a food. This conclusion was based on experiments showing that alcohol, taken in small quantities, was oxidized and burnt up in the system, and as such was a heat-giving food. But as was shown above, the mere property of combustibility is not enough to entitle a substance to be classed as a food. Moreover, many poisons and waste matters undergo combustion and are burnt up by the body in the effort to get rid of them ; but no one would, on this account, class these

substances as true foods. They are foods only from the chemical point of view, or in so far as they are oxidized or burnt up in the body. Even Professor Atwater admits that alcohol is not a food in the real sense, for he says : ' If the oxidation of alcohol in the body could produce heat and energy, it is none the less proved that it can produce much evil and that it should not be called a food in the proper sense of the word. The net result of its use is damage and not advantage.'

It follows, then, that alcohol is not a food ; it remains to state positively what alcohol is. The word alcohol may mean either the chemical substance which is the distinctive element in intoxicating drink, or it may refer to the intoxicating beverage itself, and the context generally indicates the meaning.

Speaking of pure alcohol, the pharmacologists of all nations are now agreed in placing it among the poisons, and in the classification of these substances it is included in the same category with ether and chloroform, and described as a narcotic poison. All three act in a precisely similar manner, and the symptoms are as follows : (1) ' a brief period of so-called exhilaration, due to the removal of the controlling influence of the higher nerve centres ; (2) depression of function for a much longer time.' If a large quantity of alcohol is taken the period of exhilaration is shortened ; and drowsiness and a desire to sleep follows more or less rapidly according to the amount taken. Alcohol, as well as ether and chloroform, has a paralysing or anæsthetic effect ; for when given in very large quantities there is a short stage of exhilaration, excitement, and garrulity, and next the bodily temperature is lowered, and the patient loses power to move or feel. This short period of exhilaration is one of the most dangerous lures to the unwary, who so often shut their eyes to the fact that this effect very soon passes and is followed by depression, loss of cheerfulness and vigour, and many other evil consequences.

There are still physicians of eminence who recommend alcohol as a useful drug in some conditions of disease. But there is no doubt that it is much less frequently employed now in the treatment of disease than it was ten or twenty years ago. In surgery it is hardly ever used. And abundant evidence has accumulated to show that no disadvantages have followed the restriction in the use of

alcohol either in medicine or surgery. Other remedies, equally efficacious and free from its dangers, have been recently discovered, and nowadays the use of this drug is almost completely discontinued.

Passing on to the second question, the connexion between intemperance and the fundamental springs of action in human beings, it may be premised that sound philosophy recognizes three great fundamental desires : the yearning after happiness, the impulse towards self-development, and the instinct of self-preservation. Now, alcohol does not supply nourishment, and the widespread error as to its nutritive powers is due to the fact that it allays the sensation of hunger. It does this, however, not by acting as food, but because, being anaesthetic, it has a narcotic and soothing action on the brain, an action which is really harmful and ought to be avoided when the body needs the support of true food. Nor again is alcohol a thirst quencher : water is the natural means of allaying thirst, whereas alcohol creates it, and induces a craving for repetition. Then there is the important circumstance, now generally admitted, that alcoholic liquor inflicts injury on both the physical and mental powers. And as the craving for anything that is hurtful to the organism is a disease, and not in accordance with nature's law, it would seem to follow that the widespread desire for alcoholic drink can scarcely belong to the impulse towards self-development or self-preservation. And, as a fact, apart from the bondage of habit or inherited tendency, the normal healthy individual has no liking for alcohol.

The life processes make no demand for it, and digestion is better carried on without it. The desire for it is purely an artificial craving, an acquired taste, like the love of tobacco, or the baneful passion for cocaine, morphia, and similar drugs. 'The human,' says a recent writer, 'is rarely born these days, who, without long training in the associations of drinking, feels the irresistible chemical propulsion of his system towards alcohol. I do assume that such rare individuals are born, but I have never encountered one.'

But as regards the tendency towards happiness, the case is somewhat different. For if the immediate effects of alcoholic liquor are considered, particularly its power of producing temporary exhilaration, it would seem that the liking for it is derived in some measure from the great

fundamental desire for happiness. The love of society admittedly belongs to the yearning towards happiness; and with the vast majority of drinkers sociability connotes alcohol, and they set down sociability as the origin and cause of the evil habit they have contracted. For in these northern regions the social atmosphere is permeated with strong drink; and from long association the man who drinks is looked on as the good fellow, the loyal comrade, and drinking is taken as the sign of strength and the badge of manhood. The poets, too, in large numbers sing the praises of alcohol, and describe the pleasurable states it induces whilst they are silent about its evil effects.

But as the true nature and effects of alcohol become more widely known and more firmly grasped the desire for it, whatever its ultimate source, must gradually diminish. The drinker will recognize that his habits render him irritable and unfit to cope with the worries and annoyances of daily life, and that his tiresomeness, which he himself readily forgets, alienates the affection and goodwill of his friends. He will see, too, that the injuries to the various organs, caused by even so-called moderate drinking, result in lethargy and impaired health, so that instead of bringing him happiness it really lessens his capacity for genuine pleasure and enjoyment. The result of this enlightenment must be that the rational seeker after happiness would rather fly alcohol as being, even from the purely physical point of view, detrimental to the happiness he is seeking.

In the meantime, however, the evils of alcohol are deeply rooted and widely spread. Too often the full appreciation of them is after wisdom, and only comes when the pernicious habit is formed, and the victim has set foot in the perilous flood. Then it is much easier to indulge a craving than to control it, and there are many persons who seem entirely lacking in the faculty of controlling their appetites. These and many other influences combine to give strong drink a firm and tenacious hold upon the world. It has become the most virulent enemy of our race, the greatest evil of our day, an evil which clamours loudly for redress.

And if it be asked what remedy is proposed for combating this gigantic evil it may be answered that strong measures will be required in order to provide a really effective remedy. Take away the existing facilities for

procuring intoxicating drink ; for as long as alcohol is accessible, as at present, so long will the consumption of this poison continue with all the havoc and devastation it works upon the individual and on society. Nor need we be frightened even at the prospect of total abstinence. Comparisons made between total abstinence on the one hand, and celibacy and renunciation of property on the other hand, are altogether misleading. For the renunciation of property is impracticable and universal celibacy would lead rapidly to the extinction of the race ; whereas, according to the best authorities, it would be far better for the race if every drop of alcohol were swept off the face of the earth. And if the facts were more widely known, if the truth about alcohol and its hurtfulness, instead of being passed over in silence or regarded merely as a speculative opinion, were looked upon as it deserves to be as a vital living practical truth, then the whole outlook upon the consumption of intoxicating drink would undergo a radical change. We should no longer hear alcohol spoken of as a luxury, but rather in its proper place, as not merely a useless substance but also as something positively hurtful and injurious. Abstinence would no longer be regarded as a counsel of perfection but as the simple dictate of prudence and common sense. Nor would even total abstinence for life be described as an heroic offering or as a sacrifice amounting almost to heroic virtue, or nearly equal in self-denial to the taking of religious vows. If the truth were known abstinence would be the normal condition of the ordinary individual, with nothing heroic or sacred about it any more than is found in the renunciation of ether, opium, or similar drugs.

It is a matter for genuine rejoicing that many agencies are at work, and some of them quite new, for bringing about this blessed transformation. Temperance education is advancing, and the prejudices of generations, fostered by human passion and human weakness, are softening under its influence. Quite recently it has been announced in the Press that a scientific course of teaching on Temperance is soon to be established in the National Schools of this country. This will be an inestimable boon to the boys and girls of the land, who will thus begin life, sword in hand, to fight the demon of intemperance. Then there is the vastly increased price of drink, the legislative restrictions on its sale and manufacture, and the movement towards

State purchase of the liquor trade with compensation for affected interests.

Temperance societies are working with laudable zeal, and there is reason to hope that, under these beneficent influences, the present disastrous world-war would bring with it, as some compensating good, the banishment of this poison from the lives and homes of the people. We should then see a general uplifting of our race, the standard of life would be raised, and our people would enjoy that active vigorous health which is the sure foundation of high spirits and happiness and joy in living.

THOMAS F. MACKEN.

THE IRISH ECCLESIOLOGICAL SOCIETY

By 'GOBAN SAOR'

IN November, 1849, the illustrious Dr. Russell of Maynooth gave to the recently formed Irish Ecclesiological Society an inaugural address, which is here reproduced. Truly it states 'What oft was thought but ne'er so well expressed.' The society previously formed, which was under the patronage of Our Blessed Lady and St. Laurence, Archbishop of Dublin, was instituted to 'promote the study of Christian Art and Antiquities and for encouraging the practice of Ecclesiastical Architecture in Ireland.' Its motto was *Domine dilexi decorem domus tuae*. Its patrons were the Archbishop of Dublin, the Bishops of Kildare, Clogher, Waterford, Clonfert, Killaloe, Dromore, Raphoe, and Cloyne; Dr. Wiseman, the Earl of Shrewsbury, Count De Montalembert, Lord Bellew, and Lord Arundel. Dr. Russell acted as President, and had as Vice-Presidents Dr. Moriarty of All Hallows College, Dr. Kelly and Dr. Furlong of Maynooth, Dr. O'Connell of Irishtown, and Dr. Ennis of Booterstown. The Council embraced Sir Thomas Esmonde, John H. Talbot, M.P.; Sir W. Lyons of Cork, Charles Gavan Duffy, John O'Hagan, Q.C.; John O'Connell, George Mulvany, Architect; and a number of priests. Amongst the secretaries were Dr. Woodlock of All Hallows and James J. McCarthy.

From the list of names it may be noted that Dr. Russell and his co-founders sought (and rightly sought) their support from Dublin district and its colleges. Maynooth and All Hallows were to be the study-centres where the theory and principles of art and architects could and should be studied, and the city churches and architects should serve as models and lecturers, while the priests of the Dublin district should be near-at-hand co-operators in the Society's work. What work was done by the Society formed by these great men I cannot tell. My only knowledge of it comes from a pamphlet published by Duffy in 1850,

giving the objects, laws, and the inaugural address of Dr. Russell.

Probably the society was short-lived. The famine years and their sequences were terrible times in Ireland. The land laws were pressing heavily everywhere and in many ways. Rent, taxes, poor prices, depopulation, misery of every kind, led to apathy, despair, undue haste in acquiring sites, in accepting any kind of site, any kind of designs for buildings. The people remembered the *bohogs*, the mud-wall surrounded altars, the Mass gardens ; they knew their own hovels, and rejoiced to see the big substantial oblong buildings, with the altars in the centre of the oblong long-side.

During the existence of the penal laws [writes Carleton, in his Autobiography, pages 36 and 37] the notion of building such a thing as a Catholic chapel would have consigned those who could dream of, much less attempt, such a project either to transportation or death. Within my memory there was nothing in existence for the Catholics for the worship of God, except the mere altar, covered with a little open roof to protect the priest from rain, which it was incapable of doing. . . . There was always a little plot of green sward *allowed* (the italics are mine) to be annexed to the altar, on which the congregation could kneel. . . . During the winter months and wet weather in general, those of both sexes who attended worship were obliged to bring with them small trusses of hay on which to kneel, as neither man nor woman could kneel on a wet sward through which the moist yellow clay was oozing, without soiling or disfiguring their dresses or catching cold from the damp. Indeed, I must say that during the winter months the worship of God was in one sense a very trying ceremony.

But if Dr. Russell's effort failed it was not for want of learning, or of work to be done ; but probably its failure or its non-existence in our own day came from 'the time being out of joint,' or from apathy which killed so much attempted co-operation and organization in this country. Admirable were the Society's objects :—

I. To form a medium whereby Catholics may co-operate with and assist one another in the study and investigation of Catholic antiquities, particularly of the remains existing in this country ; to show the exclusive connexion between them and our holy religion ; and to apply the result of their investigations to the practical wants of the Church.

II. To hold occasional meetings, at which papers on all subjects relative to Christian art, whether architecture, painting, sculpture, Church music, stained glass, Church furniture, etc., will be read, and sketches, drawings, engravings, or models illustrative of those subjects exhibited ; and by the publication of the proceedings of such meetings to call public attention to the objects of the Society.

III. By the publication of short expositions on the principles and details of Christian art, to make Catholics better acquainted with the divers parts thereof, and thus to raise in their minds just notions of the character of a temple fitted for the service of the Almighty.

IV. To furnish, when required, counsel and instruction to clergymen about to engage in the erection of a church or other ecclesiastical edifice, in order to afford them as correct ideas as possible of the character and style of the buildings they should erect, according to the amount of funds at their disposal, and the circumstances of localities and materials; and to furnish, when means permit, such of the clergy as, either through the poverty of their mission or from local inconveniences, may find a difficulty in otherwise obtaining them, with appropriate designs for churches, chapels, schools, and priests' houses, and for ecclesiastical furniture and decorations, from the pencils of approved Catholic artists.

V. To assist in the formation of Altar Societies, whose object it will be to labour for the consistent decoration of the respective churches to which they will be attached.

And admirable, too, were its laws :—

I. The Society shall consist of a President, Patrons, Vice-Presidents, and Members.

II. All Catholics are qualified to become Members on being proposed by two members and being approved by the majority of the Council.

III. Bishops and Peers joining the Society shall be admitted as Patrons, and Presidents of Colleges as Vice-Presidents.

IV. Catholics who have distinguished themselves in the cause of Catholic arts and literature are admissible as Honorary Members.

V. Every Member shall pay an annual subscription of ten shillings. All subscriptions payable in advance on the 1st of January each year.

VI. Any Member being one full year in arrear of his subscription, after due notice from the Secretaries unheeded, shall be liable to have his name erased from the books of the Society, at the discretion of the Council.

VII. The affairs of the Society shall be conducted by a Council consisting of the President and fifteen Members (with power to add to their number), five of whom shall form a quorum for the transaction of business. Patrons and Vice-Presidents are *ex-officio* Members of the Council.

VIII. The Council shall be elected at the General Annual Meeting. Of each new Council six, at least, shall have been Members of the preceding Council.

IX. The Council shall elect out of their own number a Treasurer and one or more Secretaries.

X. Two Members of the Society (not being Members of the Council) shall be annually chosen, at the same time with the Council, to audit the accounts.

In Dr. Russell's address it would be sacrilege to change even a word. What he said nearly seventy years ago applies to both Ireland and all English-speaking countries to-day. They have all equally suffered from the building fever, and have now awakened from the fever dream to view the horrible mistakes made. The building pace must

slacken for years to come. The cessation from labour may easily be utilized by thoughtful men—priests and students. Dr. Russell made Dublin and district his centre and embraced the great colleges, and the secular and regular clergy in his membership roll. If any attempt be made to re-establish an Irish Ecclesiological Society, Maynooth, Clonliffe, and All Hallows must and, if I may be pardoned for suggesting it to the dignitaries there, should start a society dealing with such matters. Education has improved; poverty and despair are not so acute as in Dr. Russell's day. Architects, sculptors, painters are to be had to teach and to guide in correct taste. Travel is cheap, easy, and popular. Critics of church building abound! But good text-books, embracing good sound judgment on Catholic church design, are not in such abundance. Text-books and lectures greatly help to form taste and judgment, and the judicious explanation of concrete work such as can be seen in charming (?) variety both in Maynooth, All Hallows, Drumcondra Training College, and the city churches help architects and priest-builders. Dublin has scores of splendid buildings worthy of minute study, and the rebuilding scheme now started should prove useful object-lessons to those who are in earnest.

Every society started by priests or students in Ireland has been a huge success. Witness the work of the Father Mathew Temperance Society, the Pioneer Society, the Gaelic League, the Catholic Truth Society, the Maynooth Re-Union Society, the Columban League, the Society for the Publication of Irish Historical Manuscripts—all flourish. All began in a small, hopeful way. So shall it be with an Irish Ecclesiological Society if some courageous men take up the movement.

The Anglican clergy, spurred from inactivity by the Oxford Movement, started, just about the same time as Dr. Russell spoke, the Cambridge Society, and flourished. It merged in the St. Paul's Ecclesiological Society, which flourishes to-day with a membership of hundreds, with ample funds, and with a record of leading and directing correct church work in architecture and kindred subjects in England. Its *Transactions* are very often models of patient, accurate, learned, and interesting research and direction. Is it not a reproach that in Ireland, with its crowd of Catholic University graduates and highly-trained clerics there is not some sort of kindred society to which

priests can turn for help and direction in their building labours—creation, restoration, and additions?

Le clergé, depuis bien longtemps s'est trop désintéressé de ces questions qui le touchent pourtant de si près et qui ont tant d'affinité avec le culte Catholique. Qu'il reprenne donc la place qu'il n'aurait jamais dû abandonner et que désormais, au lieu de suivre, il soit à la tête ; qu'au lieu d'écouter, il enseigne ; qu'au lieu d'empêcher le mal, il pousse au bien de toutes les forces et qu'il ne mérite plus cette accusation, trop justement portée contre son inertie et son ignorance.¹

Felix Robort wrote in *Le Sanctuaire* : ‘Comment peut on accuser l’architecte laïque, quand l’architecte prêtre se montre encore plus inintelligent et profane ?’ Yes, truly, it is hard to blame the lay architect when the priest-builder shows himself still more stupid and ignorant.

The study of church architecture, even at this, the eleventh hour, is a crying want in Ireland. Perhaps some students or priests may take courage and start a society, such as good Dr. Russell started long ago. The successors to his patrons would, likely, give encouragement and help to their pioneer efforts.

INAUGURAL ADDRESS, DELIVERED NOVEMBER 16, 1849.

GENTLEMEN OF THE IRISH ECCLESIOLOGICAL SOCIETY.—One of the pleas which David, in the twenty-fifth Psalm, puts forward in mitigation of the rigour of the divine judgment, is his having ‘loved the beauty of the house of the Lord’ ; and it is worthy of observation that he places this plea in the very same rank, as a title to mercy, with the great moral and social virtues which, in popular estimation, are more specially regarded as the foundation of personal sanctity. If it can be said that there is aught of confidence in the humble self-gratulation with which he pleads that ‘he has walked in his innocence’ (Ps. xxv. 11), that he ‘has not sat in the council of vanity’ (Ps. xxv. 4), that ‘he has not gone with the doers of unjust things’ (Ps. xxv. 4), that ‘his foot has stood in the direct way’ (Ps. xxv. 12), there is certainly no less seeming reliance upon the plea to which I first alluded, that he ‘has loved the beauty of the house of the Lord, and the place where His glory dwelleth’ (Ps. xxv. 8).

Shall we, then, be deemed presumptuous, gentlemen, if, in inaugurating our young Society, we venture to adopt this sentiment of the Psalmist as our own, and select as the motto of our brotherhood, and the guiding text of its labours as well as of its hopes, these touching words, which have ever been dear to the servants of God :

‘Domine dilexi decorem domus tuae.’

The suitable adornment of the place of public worship has always been regarded as one of the first necessities of the externals of religion. If we do not distinctly discern it in the simple sacrifices of the

¹ *Traité Pratique de la Construction . . . des Eglises*, par Montault, p. 7.

patriarchal times, it is, at least, clearly traceable in the elaborate ceremonial of the Jewish law, and even in the corrupt worship established by paganism under its various forms. . . .

It was reserved, however, for the Church of the New Law, especially after its emancipation under Constantine, to elevate and to sanctify what the Old had reverenced even in its type, and what paganism itself, in its most degrading forms, had not failed to recognize. The sublime doctrine of the Incarnation, and the still more sublime complement, so to speak, of that doctrine, which is contained in the adorable mystery of the Eucharist, only present to the mind of the Christian worshipper the same idea of the special presence of the Deity, the type and figures of which were deemed worthy of the golden glories of the Jewish temple, and which, in its most crude and material conception, was the foundation of the idolatrous worship upon which the pagan lavished all the treasures of his art. This active sense of the abiding presence of Our Lord upon our altars, and in our churches, has ever been the inspiring principle of Christian art; from the 'Good Shepherd,' which Tertullian (*De Pudicitia*, c. vii.; *Op.*, p. 1199). An ancient glass engraved with this very subject has come down to our time, see *Dublin Review*, vol. xxi. p. 440, art. 'Maitland's Church in the Catacombs') tells us the Christians of his day were wont to engrave upon their chalices, down to the immortal fresco of the 'School of Theology' in the Stanze di Raffaelle, or Overbeck's glorious conception of the 'Triumph of Religion in the Arts.' Other uses and applications it undoubtedly has had: to illustrate the history and the teaching of the Holy Scriptures; to promote the instruction and edification of the people; to supply what St. Gregory the Great calls 'an alphabet for the unlearned' (*Op.* iv. 295); to elevate the feelings and purify the heart; to foster and maintain piety; even to add a pleasing charm to its practice, and diminish its difficulty. These and many similar purposes have often supplied the immediate objects of the labours of the Christian artist; but it is no less true, that the faith of the adorable Eucharist was the common centre towards which they have all tended; that, even in those departments which were least directly connected with Itself, it supplied an unfailing source of inspiration and encouragement; and that Its chastening and purifying influence has proved the best barrier against the introduction of the gross and degrading forms in which art was invested at its first revival, and which, at a certain period of its history, threatened utterly to pervert its character, even in its application to the uses of religion.

To regulate the true principles of Christian art, especially in the building and decoration of churches, is the object of the science of Ecclesiology. For although, in its more limited application, and in the more strictly technical sense of the name, it might seem to be confined to one particular department—that of architecture—it is understood, nevertheless, to embrace all that relates to the externals of religion; and to comprise not alone architecture, but also painting, sculpture, church decoration, ecclesiastical costume, glass-staining, music, engraving, illumination, and even ornamental typography in its adaptation to sacred uses. Such, I may add, are the objects to which our Society proposes to direct its humble labours.

There is no one who must not have felt, with frequent and painful regret, the wretched condition of Christian art in Ireland. Sacred architecture, as far as quantity goes, we have had in abundance; but not

only has it not, as a general rule, been regulated by any correct principles, but it may almost be said that, in many cases, it has not followed any scientific principles at all. Religious painting and sculpture are almost unknown among us—glass-staining and illumination altogether. Even engraving, which is to the painter what the press is to the writer, and which for the poor is by far the most important department of Christian art, is known to our people only by the few tasteless or ill-executed prints, which, with some rare exceptions, the resources of our publishers have enabled them to produce; or by the scanty and ill-selected specimens of foreign, and especially of French art, which, for the few last years, have begun to find their way into the country. The internal decoration of our churches is too often sacrificed to external effect; in other cases it is either neglected altogether, or is regulated by principles entirely at variance with the dignity, the solemnity, and, I may add, the sacred character of religious worship.

I shall not occupy your time by entering into the causes by which this state of things has been produced. The chief among them are too gloomy and too painful for an auspicious occasion, such as, I trust, we may venture to consider the present; and we shall employ ourselves far more usefully in providing for a better state of things for the future than in denouncing, or even in deplored the past. There is no one who will not agree with us in recognizing the existence of the evil; and so general and so deep-seated is the regret with which it is regarded that, I trust, there are few who will not co-operate with us in providing a remedy.

I know that we shall be met with the traditional objections by which Christian art has been invariably assailed. We shall be told that the application of art to the uses of public worship is inconsistent with the simplicity of the Gospel; that it tends to sensualize religion; that it degrades the service of God, which is essentially spiritual, into a material and mechanical operation; that it appeals to the senses instead of the understanding—to the lower and meaner faculties of the mind, instead of those higher powers which God claims especially as His own; and that it is incompatible with that sincere and interior adoration, ‘in spirit and in truth,’ which is foretold by Our Lord as the characteristic of His new religion. These, I am well aware, are objections which, in their fullness, no Catholic can urge; which are utterly at variance with the history of the Catholic Church from the very earliest times; and which find their refutation in the mouldering tablets and faded frescoes of the Catacombs, as well as in the costly sculptures and gorgeous mosaics of St. Peter’s Basilica. They form, in truth, the foundation of that studied, and to use the phrase of a very impartial witness, that ‘morose simplicity,’ which is the distinctive characteristic of the Calvinistic worship. But I cannot help believing that, even without our knowledge, these very principles have unconsciously influenced our own views; that the habitual contact with the opinions to which I have alluded, and the sight of houses of public worship constructed and furnished upon these principles, have had the effect of lowering the standard of Catholic art, even among the most zealous of our body; and that what, in a Catholic country, would seem cold, mean, and meagre, is here regarded as realizing all the requirements of Catholic worship, such as it is desirable to see it celebrated in this country. I have alluded to these objections, therefore, not with the purpose of considering them in detail,

but rather of pointing to them and to other similar principles, as obstacles to the removal of which the exertions of our Society must be directed. I need not say to you, that nothing could be more unjust, and nothing more unfounded, than such a representation of the true character of Christian art. If art were employed as an end, and not simply as a means—if it sought to arrest the mind and fix it upon itself, instead of carrying it onward to the higher and holier objects which it is merely designed to symbolize—if it appealed solely to the senses, and not rather, through the senses, to the understanding—it would be, indeed, irreconcilable with the essentially spiritual character of the Christian religion. But the most elaborate forms of Christian art, the stately porticos and majestic colonnades, which it has borrowed from the architecture of ancient Greece and Rome—the more purely symbolical forms which its own peculiar architecture has called into existence, the loftiest conceptions of its painters, its sculptors, its musicians—all that is costliest, rarest, most gorgeous, most exquisite in its works, has but one single object—to show forth the glory of God to the children of the faith, and to elevate their hearts to Him Who is the Source and Author of every inspiration of genius, no matter through what form it is manifested. If the works of Christian art appeal to the senses at all, it is only in the same way as language itself appeals to the senses—for the purpose of producing, through the senses, that impression upon the understanding which alone should influence the will of a rational being. A sacred picture is often an aid to meditation more efficient than an elaborate dissertation upon the subject which it illustrates: the very air of holiness and peace which breathes through the solemn aisles of a venerable church is, in certain moods of mind, more suggestive of pious thoughts than an eloquent sermon. The emotions suggested by the mere sight of the ‘Pietà’ of Michael Angelo; the lofty spirituality which speaks from the speaking features of the noble statue of St. Bruno, in the Church of S. Maria degli Angeli in Rome, go more directly to the heart than all the pathos which the most fervid language could express. In a word, to reject the use of art in the public services of religion is to deprive its ministers of their best and most effective instrument of good; and the man who, upon such grounds as these, objects to its employment, should, in order to be thoroughly consistent, object, upon the same ground, to the use of language, to public instruction, to sermons written or spoken, to the reading of pious books, nay, to the Holy Scriptures themselves.

There is another class of objections, however, by which we may expect to be more generally encountered: those which are founded on the utilitarian views by which this age is characterized. We shall be told that however allowable, and even useful, the influence of art may be in religion, it is not, at all events, absolutely necessary; that we possess already all that is essential, or at least should content ourselves with aiming at it; and that, in the present state of things, there are numberless other objects of so much more importance that prudence will suggest the propriety of preferring their claim. This is an old and familiar objection. I will not dwell upon a reply which the lovers of art have not infrequently suggested—that this was the objection of the traitor Judas, when he saw the precious unguent poured upon the feet of our blessed Lord: ‘Why was not this ointment,’ said he, ‘sold for three hundred pence, and given to the poor?’ (John xii. 4). On the contrary, I know that there are many from whose lips it comes with perfect

sincerity, and in whose pious and charitable desire for the welfare of their poorer brethren we must all cordially sympathize. There is not one of us, I trust, who does not feel the urgent necessity of providing for the more pressing wants by which we are surrounded, and does not fully enter into the charitable zeal in which so many benevolent and useful projects have originated : the hospitals and houses of refuge, the night asylums, the ragged schools, the cheap baths and wash-houses, the town parks, the model lodging-houses, and the various other benevolent plans by which it is sought to ameliorate the physical condition of the poor. But, paradoxical as it may appear, it is, nevertheless, proved by experience to be perfectly true, that the funds devoted to the decoration of the house of God not only do not detract from the sources of charity to the poor, but, on the contrary, stimulate and foster its exercise ; and that those countries and those times which have been most remarkable for zeal in the building and decorating of churches, have also been most lavish in their provision for the necessities of the poor. Contrast the benevolent institutions of Geneva, the great centre of the iconoclastic principle, and the very ideal of all that is cold and meagre and parsimonious in the externals of religion, with those of Rome, which, with her three hundred sumptuous churches, has found means, nevertheless, to found and endow a number of charitable establishments so comprehensive in their objects, so diversified in their character, and so universal in their provision for every variety of human misery, as to have extorted the admiration of her most bigoted adversaries. The same is true of Seville, whose cathedral, for the treasures of art and precious things which it contains is, even still, one of the wonders of the world ; of Madrid, of Malaga, of Cadiz, and the other cities of Catholic Spain. It is no less true of Naples, of Florence, of Genoa, of Verona, of Milan, and of Italy generally ; of which, notwithstanding the countless treasures which have been lavished upon the decorations of the sanctuary, it is, nevertheless, admitted that 'in no country has charity assumed so many forms, or tried so many arts, to discover and assuage the complicated varieties of human misery ' (*Eustace's Classical Tour in Italy*, iv. 256). Nor is it difficult to explain this seeming paradox. The love of God and of our neighbour seldom fail to go hand in hand. It is an axiom of Christian morals, that 'charity is self-diffusive' ; and the resources seemingly withdrawn from the active exercise of benevolence, for the erection and decoration of the house of God, are returned a hundred-fold by the increased fervour of Christian charity, which they contribute to generate and keep alive.

We must not suffer ourselves, therefore, to be disheartened by representations like these ; nor give way, at least without a struggle, to the opposition which we may chance to encounter. It may even be doubted whether a little opposition might not be attended with beneficial results. There is much sound philosophy in the sentiment attributed to St. Philip Neri, who, when asked to join any new undertaking, was wont first to inquire whether it was much opposed, and regarded such opposition as one of the best guarantees of eventual usefulness.

The objects which we propose to ourselves are few, simple, and practical ; and their attainment depends rather on zealous co-operation in our own body than upon great resources or influential patronage. It must be ours to promote, in the first place, among ourselves, a knowledge of the just principles of Christian art, in all its branches, but especially as

applied to church building and church decorations, by the reading and discussion of papers upon these subjects ; to contribute, as far as our resources will permit, to the diffusion of such principles, by the cheap, and perhaps gratuitous, circulation of familiar tracts of a similar character, accompanied by architectural drawings suited to the various wants of the country ; to assist, by the communication of plans, and by such other helps as circumstances may suggest, those who, in the poorer districts, may find it impossible to provide judicious professional advice to devise means, partly by judicious encouragement of meritorious native artists, partly by establishing a connexion with the markets of other countries, of promoting the introduction, upon terms suited to our resources, of altar pieces and other sacred pictures which may be worthy of the house of God ; still more, to labour for the introduction of a better and purer school of engraving, of the works of Fra Angelico da Fiesole, Fra Bartolomeo, and Matteo da Siena, or of their modern imitators, Overbeck and Steinle, and Deger, and the two Müllers, and the others whom the Christian Art Union of Düsseldorf has made familiar to the very poorest and humblest homesteads in Germany. . . .

These, and such as these, are the objects which we seek to carry out. The means will form the subject of future discussion.

It only remains that, upon this our day of inauguration, we enter warmly and zealously into so much of the work as depends upon ourselves. In this age of association we have abundant examples of the amount of work which, even in matters of minor literary or scientific interest, may be effected by zealous co-operation ; and with an object so high and holy as ours in view, I deem it superfluous to suggest any motive beyond that which the very name of our Society, and still more the motto which we have ventured to propose, will suggest. If we love God we can hardly prove indifferent to ‘the glory of His house.’

Thus far, the illustrious Dr. Russell. I shall not attempt to gild his refined gold. Perhaps his ideas may produce lasting effects. Some one may live to see a band of Church students, priests, and architects visiting and studying the Dublin churches—the good old Pro-Cathedral, whose paternity is so doubtful ; University Church, with its fine accuracy of Byzantine detail ; the fearful stained glass in Milltown Park ; the shocking altar in St. Saviour’s, which a Dublin newspaper labelled ‘an exquisite triumph of art,’ and the dreadful stained glass over the altar, which drew ecstatic praise from the *Freeman* (January 16, 1861)—these would serve as opening themes and model lessons for beginners, might provoke criticism, and thus win publicity and fame for the infant society. In fact, these studies might, like the reading of the boy’s story, *Eyes and No Eyes*, make people who study on the Continent, and there see good models of art and architecture, use their eyes to acquire knowledge over and above the text-book theses.

In 1912 two priests visited the great Tremmelbeck

Waterfall in Switzerland, where the immense water-power has been utilized so splendidly for lifts and lighting. The priests met there the associate professor of engineering from Hamburg, explaining to his class of poorly-clad pupils the mechanism of the vast electric plant. They had toured Switzerland, seeing and hearing and note-taking and drawing, listening to the professor, asking him questions and suffering interrogations from him. We never see that sort of thing in Ireland. Sufficient for the priest is the college course, and yet how meagre it is, how small is the knowledge of even the most brilliant student leaving college. Canon Sheehan tells how Luke Delmege, who was a first of first on the college prize lists, did not know whether Botticelli was a country or a statesman or a sculptor ! Think of the small knowledge of the poor students who are not firsts of anything—pure hidden gems ! Suppose a visitor were to ask, casually and with bland innocence, a college graduate in — well, Matazalan : ‘Please, sir, what style of architecture is this in the old college chapel ?’ ‘Why do the order and style differ in the tabernacle structure from that in the body of the church ?’ The graduate might be puzzled, or he might reply with modest arrogance : ‘St. Bernard never counted the windows in his church and did not know their number—though they were only three, and I never gape in church ’ !

I make my bow and retire.

‘GOBAN SAOR.’

NOTES AND QUERIES

THEOLOGY

RE COURSE TO ROME IN SPECIALLY RESERVED CASES

REV. DEAR SIR.—As approach to Rome at the present time is impossible, and is likely to remain so for a very considerable time, how is the confessor to act in cases reserved *in modo specialissimo* to the Holy See?

ANXIOUS.

Not having heard of any extreme developments, we presume that the impossibility is not physical. If it were, the obligation would be suspended till communication were restored. No one is bound to what is really impossible.

We take it, therefore, to be 'moral.' While the censorship lasts, letters are liable to be opened, and the resulting inconveniences are, it is suggested, too great to be imposed on the persons concerned. In many matters it might be so, but in the particular case we see no great reasons for admitting it. The real names are not given to the Penitentiary, and there is no danger of defamation or of a breach of the seal. All that the cleverest censor could gather would be that some person or other, not necessarily belonging to the confessor's parish or diocese or even country, had committed the crime indicated. He could conclude nearly as much from books published for all the world to read.

Before writing to Rome, 'Anxious' would be well advised to apply to his Bishop. The latter *may* have faculties, even though they were not granted in the old-time *Formula Sexta*. An appeal to the Bishop, or to his Vicar-General, is allowed in such circumstances by the decree of the Holy Office issued on the 19th October, 1900.¹

GRANTS TO SOLDIERS' DEPENDENTS

REV. DEAR SIR.—An answer to the following queries will oblige:—

1. A priest witnesses a form for separation allowance, for dependents on a soldier. What is his obligation if he signs it, doubting the truth of the statement on which the claim is based? Is the opinion safe to act on, that he did not contract an obligation in justice, but simply identified the person and claim as genuine? In the form issued by the Government it is merely stated, that the document should be witnessed by a clergy-

¹ *Anal. Ecc.*, lx. 54.

man, or Justice of the Peace, from which it would appear that the Government did not impose a strict obligation on the witness as to inquiry.

2. Is there a way of escape from the obligation of restitution when a person receives the allowance under the false statement that the soldier, before joining the army, contributed a certain amount per week to his support, whereas he contributed nothing; and, secondly, is there any, and if so what, obligation on the witness of the claim as above, when he discovers the falsehood?

READER.

The recent forms, so far as we have seen, make no provision for such a signature as 'Reader' refers to. But we have a vague recollection of documents, issued during the earlier periods of the war, that answered the description he gives: and it is with one of these, probably, that he is concerned. It was stated somewhere in the document that the signature was to be added. But the signature stood alone: it was not affixed to any clause testifying that investigations had been made, or, in fact, that any special trouble had been taken to verify the statements made by the applicant. The signed form was forwarded to some Committee or Department or official—the local excise officer had, so far as we recollect, something to do with it—and it was for these authorities to investigate the facts and grant the claim or not, in accordance with the evidence they managed to discover. The signature was not taken as evidence. If the signatory was called upon, it was only in cases in which he had, as any other witness might have had, special information to offer.

That being the state of the case, we believe that the Government had no intention of imposing an obligation to investigate the facts. It would have been a most unreasonable demand anyhow: the clergyman, or Justice of the Peace, had work enough of his own without undertaking duties for which the State has its salaried officials. He might rest content with the statement of the applicant: in many cases he was in no position to secure anything further. His signature implied that, on evidence of this kind, he identified the parties and thought that the claim deserved investigation. It implied nothing more. If, on investigation by the proper authorities, the claim was found to be genuine and an allowance was granted—well and good; if not—he had given no guarantee that it would. Honestly believing the statements of the applicant—or even having, we may add, doubts about matters which he was obliged by no law, human or divine, to investigate—he conveyed nothing false by affixing his signature. But, of course, if he knew well that the claim was fraudulent, he would, like any other responsible individual, be obliged under penalty of falsehood to refuse.

But, even though he signed a claim that he knew to be incorrect—a claim, too, that was afterwards sanctioned by the Government officials—we see no reason for saying that he would be bound to restitution. To involve such a penalty, his action should have been the 'cause,' not merely the 'occasion,' of the injury effected. We may remind 'Reader' of a case given under this head in several of the text-books. A thief

does something to throw suspicion on an innocent man, but not enough to ensure his conviction by an ordinarily intelligent jury. If the innocent man is brought to trial and a jury convicts him on the defective evidence, it is the members of the jury, not the thief, that are bound to compensation. Their action is the cause of the injustice inflicted; his was only the occasion. And so in the present instance. The claim, perhaps, would never have been considered had it not been for the signatory's action: even so, his action is only the occasion. If the officials neglect their work and base a decision on evidence independent of the signature and insufficient to sustain the claim, it is against them that the accusation lies. With the extent of *their* obligation we are not concerned just now.

Those who benefit directly by a fraudulent claim are bound to restitution. But there is one point that, we think, might be fairly urged. We have been informed, by men in a position to know the facts, that claims were granted in the beginning after a very perfunctory investigation; provided the soldier was actually serving, there was no very strict inquiry as to the amount of his pre-war contribution to the family budget; so that the Government's purpose would seem to have been not so much to compensate dependents as to promote recruiting. If such was the case, the allowance might be regarded in the light of a gift—a reward for services rendered, and an inducement to others to follow the example.

IRREGULARITY ARISING FROM HERESY

REV. DEAR SIR.—Is it true that, according to recent decisions, the irregularity that used to affect the sons and, occasionally, the grandsons of non-Catholics, has ceased to bind in countries where heresy is widespread? I know the limits and restrictions of the law hitherto in force, and I am not inquiring about them. I am anxious only about the point I mention.

PRESBYTER.

We are acquainted with no decisions later than those we cite below. And, unfortunately, neither of them gives grounds for supposing that 'Presbyter's' suggestion is correct. They are:—

1°. A reply given by the Holy Office to the Bishop of Haarlem on July 11, 1884. It merely re-states a decision arrived at eighteen years before¹; and, if no change whatever had been effected during that period, the chances are that there is none forthcoming now. Its terms are: 'Filios haereticorum, qui in haeresi persistunt et mortui sunt, esse irregulares etiam in Germania aliisque in locis ubi impune grassantur haereses: quoad praeteritum autem esse acquiescendum.'

2°. A similar reply given, on December 14, 1890, to the Archbishop of Cologne and other German Bishops. It runs: 'Haereticos ad fidem catholicam conversos ac filios haereticorum, qui in haeresi persistunt et

¹ 25th July, 1866.

mortui sunt, ad primum et secundum gradum per lineam paternam, per maternam vero ad primum dumtaxat, esse irregulares etiam in Germania et in aliis locis de quibus petitur, ideoque dispensatione indigere ut ad tonsuram et ordines promoveantur.'

REVIVISCENCE OF EXTREME UNCTION

REV. DEAR SIR.—Theologians commonly hold that the sacrament of Extreme Unction is, in exceptional cases, a sacrament of the dead, and so with due dispositions on the part of the subject justifies a sinner, and secures his salvation, when otherwise he would not be saved. Penance *in voto* is contained in the sick man's elicited act of attrition, and so his sin takes on the nature of *reliquiae* and is remitted by the grace of Unction.

Now, as the *res et sacramentum* of Extreme Unction continues as long as the same danger of death lasts, and so the sacrament cannot be repeated within that period, I should like to have your decision upon two apparently similar cases.

1. A sick man, after receiving the last sacraments validly and fruitfully, falls into mortal sin, the habit of which he had unhappily contracted. He elicits an act of attrition for it, but his illness suddenly becomes aggravated and he dies before he can be reached by a priest, or he is found *in extremis* by the priest and makes no confession and cannot be re-anointed as the danger of death is the same.

2. A sick subject receives the Last Sacraments sacrilegiously. With death staring him in the face, and through the prayers and exhortations of those around, he gets the grace of attrition, but has no opportunity of making his confession before death. Does the sacrament of Extreme Unction, which was validly received, revive and save his soul?

I cannot see any solid reason against the sacrament becoming salutarily operative in both cases, considering the admission of theologians that it is in certain circumstances operative as a sacrament of the dead.

In case No. 1, the sacrament is still alive and in full vigour in the soul, and there is nothing to hinder its working. The sacrament of Penance yields its right, as it is unattainable. In attrition the will to sin is taken away, and the chain that tied the soul to the stake of sin is broken, and so the soul can be turned towards the other extreme by an extrinsic cause, which the sacrament of Extreme Unction can be.

As regards case No. 2, the same reasons appear to hold for the salvific effect of Extreme Unction. Penance, being unattainable, yields its right and is by attrition received so far as it can be, converting the sins into *reliquiae*—a proper object of the grace of Unction. Attrition heals the will and removes the obstacle in the way of an extrinsic cause of grace operating, and, therefore, the sacrament which has continued alive in the soul works its effects.

ANCEPS.

If we understand 'Anceps' correctly, his contention is that, so long as the *res et sacramentum* remains, a sacrament may revive for the remission of sins committed *after* it has been received. That is a principle hitherto unheard of in theology, dogmatic or moral. The remissive effect (if we may so term it) of a sacrament, like that of an act of contrition

by itself, is retrospective : it extends to sins already on the soul, not to those committed at a later date.

We are sure that 'Anceps' will reject his principle if he thinks for a moment of its ultimate results. If we take it as exemplified in the first case he gives, it would come to this—that in no single case would remission of sin be granted for the first time in the sacrament of Penance. If any sacrament revives, Baptism certainly does ; its *res et sacramentum* remains all through life : no matter, then, when a sin was committed, attrition with the Baptism already received would, on 'Anceps' principle, suffice for its remission ; and, since attrition is a pre-requisite of Penance, the process of justification would be always complete before the sacrament of Penance could be administered. If it be said that Baptism extends only to sins committed before its reception, we reply that the same principle governs all the sacraments. And, if that reply be considered insufficient, the substitution of Confirmation or Orders for Baptism—they certainly affect post-baptismal sin—will, with some slight modifications, lead to the same untenable results.

Our view is so clearly maintained by all authorities that we think it unnecessary to cite them. Any manual gives the facts. In Lehmkuhl's *Moral Theology*, for instance, we find a statement that covers both cases :—

Peccatum *post* susceptum sacramentum commissum non potest sacramento praeterito auferri, sicut auferri nequit sacrilegæ sacramenti susceptionis peccatum. Si igitur quodcumque sacramentum ex gravi culpa suscipiens informe mansit, certum est sacrilegium sic commissum fructui sacramenti tam diu obstarere, donec aut contritione, aut attritione cum alio sacramento (absolutione) deleatur. Paucis : Sola attritio certo non sufficit ut reviviscat sacramentum in sequentibus : (1) si *quodlibet* sacramentum informe fuit propter sacrilegam susceptionem ; (2) si *post* quodlibet sacramentum informe mortale peccatum commissum est.¹

Of course the sin of sacrilege partially precedes the sacrament, and will to that extent be affected by the reviviscence. But it continues at the moment of reception, and is more naturally regarded then as 'subsequent'—on the old philosophic principle *Prius est recipere quam recipere male*. In practice it continues still longer, and consequently falls, in the fullest sense, into the category of 'subsequent' sins.

'Anceps' idea of the *reliquiae* of sin would seem to be a little peculiar. According to the accepted terminology, the word signifies the penalties that remain after the guilt of sin has been remitted—liability to temporal punishment, absence of the greater graces, depression of mind and want of faith and confidence, etc. Attrition does not 'convert the sins into *reliquiae*' : it does not remit the guilt of mortal sin, and remission of the guilt is essential.

¹ ii. 70 (11th edition).

'COMMUNICATIO IN SACRIS'

REV. DEAR SIR,—In a large military hospital it is found that the resident Anglican chaplain prays with the Catholic soldiers who are in danger of death. He mentions the matter to the priest who visits the hospital, and further tells him that in such instances he uses a Catholic prayer-book. The priest says: 'Quite right, sir; I have no fault to find with you in the matter.'

Was the priest justified in his approval? He had the power to prevent the parson from so acting; was he bound to prevent him? Is there *communicatio in sacris* on the part of the Catholic soldiers in question? If not, is there danger that the soldiers might think they were doing wrong in allowing the parson to pray with them, even though the prayers were Catholic?

T. S.

Material co-operation with heresy—of which the incident described by 'T. S.' is an example—may be unlawful for a variety of reasons. It may seriously scandalize outsiders, leading them not merely to uncharitable thoughts about the individuals concerned, but to doubts whether, in a crisis especially, one religion is not just as good as any other. It may tend to confirm the non-Catholic in his own religious views, or involve grave danger of perversion on the part of the Catholic. Finally, it may become so serious as to imply approval of an heretical sect, and so—passing into the category of 'formal' co-operation—bring the Catholic within easy distance of one of the most serious censures of the Church.

All this has to be taken account of in the case submitted. In a crowded hospital, where presumably the religion of each patient is known and his lapses from principle noticed, the dangers mentioned might easily arise, especially if the prayer takes the form of a public service in which Catholic patients take part.¹ Risks, of course, even of the kind mentioned, may be incurred when there is a proportionately grave reason. But whether there was such a reason in the case we may very well doubt: with the exercise of a little tact and common sense, it could surely have been arranged that the Protestant chaplain should confine his ministrations to those of his own persuasion. War exigencies, we are told, have modified the application of principles recently. We are not prepared to deny it; but we have a suspicion also that they are being invoked to justify practices that, with full consideration for everyone concerned, we should on principle refuse to admit.

But let us suppose—what 'T. S.' will have to verify for himself—that the dangers to all parties have been eliminated, and that the general policy of the priest and patients does not suggest indifferentism or approval of heretical rites. The question is then reduced to this: Is the private recital of Catholic prayers by a Catholic patient and Protestant chaplain forbidden? To that we must reply in the negative. The prayer is good in itself, private worship involving nothing false is not heretical, and co-operation with the one or the other is not acceptance or

¹ Cf. Genicot, *Th. Mor.*, i. 198 (note): 'Si talis actus fiat publice, extra templum haereticum praeside tamen ministello [haretico], communicatio per se est vetita.'

approval of heresy. The law in old times used to be much more strict : but modern legislation and, still more, recent commentators practically restrict the prohibition to the limits of the natural law.

To quote two or three of the latter. Lehmkuhl, e.g., speaking of private devotions, limits the prohibition to the case of a *vitandus* :—

Quae (i.e. prohibition of civil communication) hodie non videtur vigere, nisi aliqua specialis ratio ex ipsa criminis natura appareat, et nisi excipias aliquatenus actionem cum illo (excommunicato) *orandi*. Nam etiam ad privata devotionis exercitia, nulla causa excusante, vitandum admittere non puto licere.¹

Genicot is somewhat more explicit :—

Non est communicatio vetita si quis *privatum* cum haeretico ponit actum religiosum qui non sapiat haeresim, puta recitare Pater noster.²

And Noldin expands the statement :—

Sic licite Catholicus cum Protestante simul orationem dominicam vel alias preces recitare potest, quia in hac actione non continetur professio falsae religionis : privatus enim cultus, in quo nihil falsi continetur, non est haereticus.³

A little instruction will remove the difficulty to which ‘T. S.’ refers in his concluding query. But care must be taken that the liberal principle is not extended beyond its due limits.

M. J. O’DONNELL.

CANON LAW

EXTENSION OF A CERTAIN CENSURE IN THE BULL ‘APOSTOLICAE SEDIS’

REV. DEAR SIR,—I take the liberty of asking your opinion on a couple of points in the following censure of the Bull *Apostolicæ Sedis* :—

‘Clericos in sacris constitutos vel Regulares vel Moniales post votum solemne castitatis matrimonium contrahere praesumentes, nec non omnes cum aliqua ex praedictis personis matrimonium contrahere praesumentes.’

1. Does the contraction of a civil marriage suffice for incurring the censure, provided all the other conditions are fulfilled ?

2. Suppose the contracting parties, well aware of the existence of this law, go through the external forms of a marriage, with the object of avoiding civil disabilities, but have the intention only of living in concubinage, not of entering into a real marriage, do they incur the censure ?

P. W.

1. There was complete agreement from the very beginning that in

¹ *Th. Mor.*, ii. n. 1145.

² *Th. Mor.*, i. n. 198 (note).

³ *Summ. Th. Mor.*, ii. n. 38b.

places not subject to the Tridentine law of clandestinity the contraction of a civil marriage was quite sufficient to incur the censure. The reason, of course, was quite evident: in such places the civil was quite as valid a contract as the ecclesiastical marriage.

Considerable doubt, however, existed at first regarding civil marriages contracted in countries bound by the legislation of Trent, where the civil contract was always invalid. The question was finally settled by a decision of the Holy Office given in 1880. It was declared that the excommunication was incurred by the contraction of a civil marriage, even in places subject to the Tridentine law.¹

2. On the second point no express decision has ever been given; and hence in coming to a conclusion we must be guided mainly by the words of the law itself. The question really is whether those who, in going through external forms of marriage, intend merely concubinage, not a real contract, can be regarded as presuming to contract marriage—*matrimonium contrahere praesumentes*. To our mind clearly they cannot. The words *matrimonium contrahere praesumentes* evidently indicate the necessity of a real matrimonial consent. Our answer, then, to this second query is that such persons do not incur the excommunication. As far as we can find out, too, this is the view of all the commentators who touch on this point. Thus Wernz states: ‘Ad excommunicationem istam incurriendam non sufficere concubinatum vel sponsalia, sed requiri matrimonii temerariam attentationem per verum utriusque consensum i.e., sine errore substantiali metu gravi, fictione, etiam consummatione non secuta.’² The views of D’Annibale,³ Lehmkuhl,⁴ and Ballerini-Palmieri⁵ are quite similar.

NECESSITY AND DURATION OF THE PERIOD OF POSTULANCY

REV. DEAR SIR,—Would you kindly let me know, through the pages of the I. E. RECORD, what is the discipline regarding the necessity and duration of the period of postulancy in female Orders.

INQUIRER.

The period of postulancy is of recent institution. Formerly those who sought entrance into the religious state might be straightway

¹ ‘Quam censuram aliqui extendi etiam ad eos clericos defendant, qui civile, quod vocant, matrimonium contrahere attentant in locis ubi decretum Tametsi Conc. Trid. . . promulgatum et in usu est. Haec vero sententia ab aliis rejicitur. Quaeeritur ergo utri sententiae sit adhaerendum? S. C. reposuit die 22 Dec. 1880: ‘Ad I. dubium: Clericos in sacris constitutos vel regulares aut moniales post emissum solemne castitatis votum praesumentes contrahere matrimonium sic dictum civile in locis ubi lex Tridentina de clandestinitate viget, incurrire excommunicationem latae sententiae Episcopis seu Ordinariis reservatum.’

² *Jus Decret.*, tom. iv. n. 384.

³ ‘Tribus autem opus est ad hanc excommunicationem subeundam . . . ut contrahentes verum praestent consensum.’—*In Const. Ap. Sed. Comment.*, n. 157.

⁴ *Th. Mor.*, vol. ii. n. 969.

⁵ *Op. Th. Mor.*, vol. vii. n. 473.

admitted to the novitiate after a brief instruction in the nature and obligations of the religious life, especially as practised in the particular community of which they desired to become members.

In fact, until 1901, as far as we can find out, there was no general legislation upon this point. Many Orders and Congregations, especially those of modern foundation, were, indeed, bound to this preparatory period prior to that date, but only in virtue of their own particular constitutions. As might naturally be expected, too, prior to the period mentioned, there was no uniformity as to the duration of the postulancy in the different communities in which it was prescribed.

Thus, in 1888, the Congregation of Bishops and Regulars commanded that the period in a certain community should not be less than six months.¹ In the case of another community the same Congregation, in 1897, ordered that a maximum and minimum time should be determined.²

In 1901 appeared the *Normae*, in accordance with which new Congregations with simple vows were to be regulated. Paragraph 65 of these *Normae* makes the following provision : 'The period of postulancy should not be shorter than six months, nor longer than one year. The General Superiorress, for a just cause, can prolong this time somewhat in particular cases, but the prolongation should not exceed three months.'³

All Congregations of simple vows founded since 1901, in order to obtain approbation, must conform to this regulation; and hence for them it constitutes the existing discipline. Directly, however, the *Normae* do not affect Congregations already in existence at the time of their publication; but authors advise, and the Holy See sometimes insists, that constitutions of these communities should be brought into conformity with the new regulations. Vermeersch's remarks on this point are typical : 'In these *Normae*', he states, 'is contained the common law for those Congregations at least which will in future be approved by the Holy See; and the same law, it seems likely, will, in great part at least, be transferred in a gentle but efficacious manner to the older institutions with simple vows.'⁴

The older Congregations, which, prior to 1901, made no provision for postulancy, must for the most part have conformed to the *Normae* on this question, as the recent decree on postulancy, which we shall discuss immediately, deals only with Orders having solemn vows.

The decree just referred to was published by the Congregation of Religious in 1912, and, as already indicated, is concerned merely with female Orders with solemn vows. It prescribes that each postulant, before being admitted to the novitiate, should be tried for the time and

¹ 'Expediens erit statuere quod probatio postulantum ante illarum ingressum in novitiatum non sit major sex mensibus.'—Vide Battandier, *Guide Canonique*, p. 98.

² 'Determinandum est non solum minimum, sed maximum tempus probationis.'—Battandier, l.c.

³ 'Tempus postulatus non infra sex menses, nec ultra annum perduret. Moderatrix generalis ex justa causa hoc tempus aliquanto prorogare poterit in casibus particularibus, sed prorogatio tres menses non excedat.'

⁴ *Prael. Can. de Rel. Inst. et Personis*, tom. ii. p. 131.

in the manner laid down in the particular constitutions of the individual Order in question. Should the constitutions be silent on this matter, then it requires that postulants should go through a probationary period of at least six months.¹ Let us now briefly sum up our conclusions on this matter.

I. For Congregations with simple vows, founded since 1901, the discipline regarding postulancy is contained in the *Normae* published in that year.

II. For Congregations founded prior to 1901 the constitutions of each individual society is the guiding factor.

III. Orders with solemn vows, the constitutions of which make no mention of postulancy, are regulated on this question by the decree published in 1912.

IV. Other Orders are governed by their own individual rules on this matter.

THE DECREE 'ECCLESIA CHRISTI' AND POSTULANTS

REV. DEAR SIR,—In the January issue of the I. E. RECORD² you declared that dismissal from the postulancy does not constitute an impediment to entrance into the religious life for which a dispensation from the Holy See is necessary under penalty of invalidity of subsequent profession.

Now, I have cause to know that some dignitaries in this country refuse to act upon this view, and require, even in case of dismissal from the postulancy, a dispensation from the Holy See. I shall state as well as I can the reasons which they urge in support of their practice.

1. Just as novices come under the name of religious so postulants sometimes come under the generic name of novices.

2. It seems absurd to say that, whilst provision has been made for professed religious, novices, and school-girls, postulants alone are left unlegislated for.

3. The final point urged is that the preceding arguments make it doubtful at least whether postulants are included, and consequently, as the validity of religious profession is at stake, the safer course should be followed and a dispensation obtained.

In the light of these facts and arguments I should feel grateful if you would again give your opinion on this matter in the I. E. RECORD. You may, perhaps, be able to remove the doubts which exist and so render the practice throughout the country uniform.

PUZZLED.

The arguments adduced by our correspondent do not make us waver in the slightest in the view which we advocated in the January issue of

¹ 'II. Quaelibet postulans antequam novitiatum ingrediatur probanda erit per tempus et juxta modum in propriis cuiusvis monasterii constitutionibus prescriptum.'

'III. Si nihil in ipsis quoad haec statuatur tunc probatio facienda est saltem per sex menses ita tamen ut postulantes intra septa monasterii probationis causa admissae utantur veste modesti coloris diversa tamen ab habitu ordinis quem non induant nisi quando novitiatum proprie dictum inchoaturaे sint.'

² See I. E. RECORD, Jan., 1917, p. 65.

the I. E. RECORD. Let us briefly recapitulate the reasons upon which this view is based. The decree *Ecclesia Christi*, changing, as it does, the pre-existing legislation and introducing new burdens and new obligations, is undoubtedly of strict interpretation; and, consequently, the very narrowest meaning consistent with propriety must be given to its words. Now, not only is it not explicitly stated, but it is not even suggested, that dismissed postulants are prevented from entering the religious life. There is express mention of the dismissal of professed religious, of novices, and of schoolgirls, but not a word about that of postulants. Even if the law conferred privileges and were of wide interpretation, it would not be justifiable to extend it to postulants: being of strict interpretation it is much more unjustifiable still.

Again, the Congregation of Religious by which this decree was issued was well aware of the existence of postulants; the fact, then, that it explicitly mentions both novices and professed religious is a strong argument to show that postulants were meant to be excluded. If some general word, such as *religiosi*, were employed, there might be some grounds for their inclusion; but the explicit use of the specific terms *novitiae* and *professae* preclude all possibility of this.

Finally, the commentators, as far as we have been able to find out, are unanimous in holding this opinion. We shall quote, in their original form, the views of a few of them. M. Besson, in the *Nouvelle Revue Théologique*, of 1910 (page 260), writes as follows:—

Notons au moins que le candidat ne devient inhabile aux autres instituts que si, lors de son congédement, il était déjà *novice*; si le fait s'est produit avant sa prise d'habit ou, en d'autres termes, durant son *postulat*, il n'est pas atteint par l'empêchement. Les décrets en effet parlent expressément des novices et non des postulants. Il y aura, dans cette distinction, le moyen de diminuer, au noviciat, la fréquence des renvois; une étude attentive de la vocation durant le postulat, qui dans un grand nombre d'instituts doit durer six mois au moins, permettra une première sélection moins onéreuse aux intéressés.

Vermeersch, in the *Periodica* (tom. v. p. 125), agrees fully with M. Besson: 'In suis annotationibus, R. P. Besson (*Nouv. Rev. Théol.*, 1910, p. 267) sapienter monet decreto non attingi candidatum qui "in postulatu" ut aiunt, seu ante veri noviciatus initium dimissus sit, neque eum qui ab uno ordine at alterum legitime transeat.'

Battandier, *Guide Canonique* (page 84), expresses himself in similar terms: 'Ainsi avoir été novice dans un institut et *renvoyé du noviciat* empêche d'être reçu dans un autre. La texte ne parle pas du postulat; par conséquent on aura pu être postulant dans un institut et se présenter à un autre sans avoir d'empêchement canonique.'

Let us now examine the reasons put forward for the inclusion of postulants.

I. It is a well-recognized principle of Canon Law that novices are sometimes included under the term 'religious'; but, on the other hand, there is not the slightest evidence either in the sources of ecclesiastical

law or in the writings of commentators, to show that postulants ever come under the term 'novice.' An individual may think it fitting that they should, but that is quite a different thing from actual inclusion. For the latter positive legislation is required, and as yet there is no trace of any such legislation.

Again, it must be pointed out that novices are included under the term 'religious' only *in favorabilibus* not *in odiosis*. Consequently, in the particular law in question if religious alone were mentioned not even novices would be included.

II. The reasons which we have already given demonstrate, we think, the legislator's intention of not including postulants: the express and specific reference to novices and professed religious and the absolute silence in regard to postulants is as clear a proof of it as could be given—apart from an express declaration. Because of failure to see the motives which influenced this action we should be very slow to declare the law absurd and inconsistent, and therefore to be extended beyond the limits expressly indicated by its words. We shall suggest a few considerations which will tend to put the law in a reasonable enough light; though, of course, we cannot say that they were the ones which influenced the legislators. At the time at which this decree *Ecclesia Christi* was issued, the period of postulancy was far from being universally necessary for entrance into the religious state; and, perhaps, the Congregation did not wish to legislate for conditions prevailing in some Orders but not in others.

Again, it is a very severe regulation to constitute dismissal from the novitiate, for any reason whatsoever, a diriment impediment to future entrance into the religious life; and, perhaps, it may have been to mitigate the harshness of this provision that no such inconvenience was attached to dismissal from the postulancy. It must have been some consideration such as this that M. Besson had before his mind when he wrote the following sentence: 'Il y aura, dans cette distinction, le moyen de diminuer, au noviciat, la fréquence des renvois; une étude attentive de la vocation durant le postulat, qui dans un grand nombre d'instituts doit durer six mois au moins, permettra une première sélection moins onéreuse aux intéressés.'

Besides, in the view which we are refuting novices and postulants are put in the same position so far as the decree *Ecclesia Christi* is concerned. Now, amongst the many differences between these two classes there is one especially which demands a much more lenient treatment for dismissal from the postulancy than for dismissal from the novitiate. Postulants may be sent away by the Superior of the institution without any consultation whatsoever being necessary; whereas novices may be dismissed only after the advice of the Council has been formally taken.

III. After what has been said it is scarcely necessary to point out that we deny that there is any doubt about the exclusion or inclusion of postulants; for our part we feel quite certain that they are excluded from the purview of the decree. But, even admitting for a moment that the

matter is doubtful, we should still deny the necessity of applying to Rome for a dispensation.

It is a well-recognized principle that impediments of the ecclesiastical law which are doubtful by a doubt of law require no dispensation whatsoever; at most a declaration of the Bishop that the impediment is really doubtful suffices. There can be, then, no question of following the safer way by seeking a dispensation from the Holy See. This principle is certain, and its application will secure without any doubt whatsoever the validity of reception into the novitiate and of subsequent religious profession.

J. KINANE.

LITURGY

RECEPTION OF A CONVERT WHEN BAPTISM IS CONFERRED CONDITIONALLY. ORDER TO BE USED WHEN THE CEREMONIES ARE SUPPLIED FOR AN ADULT HERETIC VALIDLY BAPTIZED

REV. DEAR SIR,—I would be very grateful for a solution of the following liturgical difficulties:—

1. In the rite prescribed for the reconciliation of a convert, when conditional baptism is to be given, *at what point* in the ceremony is the actual baptism to be administered?

2. By a decree of the Holy Office of July 20, 1859 (*Collectanea Prop. Fidei*, old edit. n. 1689; new edit. n. 1178), if a convert is being received into the Church regarding whom there is no doubt of the validity of his former baptism, and he wishes to have the *ceremonies* of baptism *supplied*, the rite of the baptism of adults is to be used. But we in Ireland, by a rescript of April 27, 1894 (Maynooth Synod., Appendix, p. 12), have the privilege of using the *infant* form in the baptism of adults. Can we also, then, supply the ceremonies, in the above case of a convert, from the infant form of baptism?

ROMANUS.

1. The order to be followed in the reception of heretics was laid down in the decree of the Holy Office mentioned by our correspondent in his second query. When there is question of conditional baptism the following order is prescribed: (a) ‘*abjuratio, seu fidei professio*’; (b) ‘*Baptismus conditionatus*’; (c) ‘*Confessio sacramentalis cum absolutione conditionata*’.

It will be noticed that there is no mention whatever of an absolution from censures. This is the more remarkable when we reflect that in the same decree the absolution is expressly prescribed when the previous baptism has been declared valid, and is as expressly excluded when the previous baptism was invalid or there was no baptism at all. The question might, therefore, be raised whether absolution from heresy is really required when the baptism is to be conferred conditionally. Most writers on Liturgy are content with giving the order laid down by the

Holy Office. And, among the canonists, Icard¹ merely writes as follows :—

Si res dubia videatur, baptismum iterare oportet sub conditione ; et, peracto baptismo, neophytus debet sua peccata confiteri sacerdoti ad obtinendum sacramentalem absolutionem, quae necessaria est si forte baptismus, in secta haereticali collatus, validus fuerit.

However this may be, the general teaching is that a convert whose previous baptism is of doubtful validity is to be regarded as a subject of the Church and should receive conditional absolution *in foro externo* from the excommunication incurred by heresy. And the point of our correspondent's first query is simply this : Should this absolution from heresy be given before or after the baptism is conditionally conferred ?

As he points out in a covering note, the rituals issued for the use of the clergy are at variance in the matter. According to all, the profession of faith must precede the baptism. This much, at least, is clear from the decree of the Holy Office. Our Irish ritual,² at least as far as the diocese of Dublin is concerned, places the absolution from heresy immediately after the profession of faith, and therefore before the baptism. This is in accordance with a reply³ which the Archbishop of Dublin received in the year 1888 from Mgr. Sallua, Commissary-General of the Holy Office, who was specially entrusted with the duty of receiving converts in Rome. Mgr. Sallua, having laid down the order indicated in the Irish ritual, added : 'Questa è la regola per gli eretici dei quali si dubita circa la validità del battesimo. Le altre opinioni non devono tenersi.' The order in the Irish ritual can, therefore, claim in its favour a first-rate authority.

Still, other opinions *are* held. De Amicis,⁴ a modern Roman writer, places the full form of absolution from censures immediately after the baptism. As our correspondent further points out, the *Ordo administrandi sacramenta* issued for the use of the English clergy directs⁵ that the baptism should be conferred after the *Miserere*, versicles, and the prayer *Deus, cui proprium est* have been recited, and immediately before the actual absolution from heresy. And the same order is given in an Appendix to the Ritual issued in Mechlin in the year 1907 for the use of the English and American clergy. On the other hand, we have before us an American ritual, published in New York in the same year in which the order given in the Irish ritual is followed. This edition has the *Imprimatur* of Cardinal Gibbons.

Apart from special legislation, the question seems to us to be merely one of practice. Although the absolution from sins is directed to be given after the baptism there is no very essential reason why it could not be given before.⁶ There seems to be still less reason why the

¹ Pars. IV. *De Delictis*, Art. ii. n. 725.

² P. 49*.

³ Vide I. E. RECORD, September, 1888, p. 855.

⁴ *Caeremoniale Parochorum*, Pars. VI. cap. i. Art. iv.

⁵ P. 83.

⁶ O'KANE, n. 465.

absolution from heresy, which has no sacramental efficacy, should not be imparted before the conditional baptism, especially as the directions of the Holy Office do not include it at all.

It may be said in favour of the order advocated by De Amicis that just as the absolution from sins follows the baptism so, too, should the absolution from censures. As regards the English *Ordo*, it strikes us as very peculiar that the ceremonies and prayers, which are really connected with the absolution from censures, are separated from the absolution itself. A glance at the formula for the absolution from excommunication *in foro externo*, as given in the Roman Ritual, will show that the *Miserere*, versicles, and the prayer *Deus cui proprium est*, form part of the rite as well as the actual absolution. We would be interested to learn why, and by what authority, the *Ordo* directs the administration of baptism immediately after the prayer just mentioned. No doubt there is some reason; but we confess we are unable to fathom it. It does seem rather inconvenient that the priest, having recited the *Miserere*, etc., should retire to the sacristy to confer the baptism and return again to the altar in order to complete the ceremony of absolution from heresy.

On the other hand, the order given for the diocese of Dublin is supported, as already stated, by excellent authority. In addition, one might say that the absolution from censures naturally follows the 'abjuratio, seu fidei professio'; and the profession of faith must be made before the conditional baptism is administered. Since, then, there is no intrinsic reason, as far as we are aware, why the absolution from heresy should be deferred until the baptism has taken place, we prefer the order laid down for the diocese of Dublin, which has the advantage of being the more convenient one in practice.

2. The original petition¹ was founded on the difficulties connected with the ceremonies for adults. These difficulties are just the same when the ceremonies are *supplied*. Hence, we think, that the concession may well be taken to include the latter case.

MAY THE HIGH ALTAR BE USED AS THE ALTAR OF REPOSE?

REV. DEAR SIR,—Kindly answer in the next issue of the I. E. RECORD the following queries: (1) Is it rubrical to use on Holy Thursday the high altar at which the Mass is celebrated as the altar of repose? (2) May the same altar be used on Good Friday for the Mass of the Presanctified? (3) Would the fact that there is a convenient side altar make any difference?

P.P.

¶ If our correspondent will study the rubrics of the Missal for Holy Thursday he will easily infer that the altar of repose should be distinct from that on which the Mass has been celebrated. The *Memorale Rituum*² gives the following directions for the altar of repose: 'Locus

¹ Vide Maynooth Decrees, Appendix, p. 11.

² Tit. iv. cap. i.

ipse ab Altari majori distinctus, et decenter velis pretiosis, non tamen nigris, et luminibus, ac floribus ornatus, sine Reliquiis, aut Imaginibus Sanctorum. Supra Altare ibidem erectum Capsula elegans clave firmata, pro Calice servando,' etc. Moreover, there is a definite reply of the Congregation of Rites regarding this very point. In the year 1901 the answer *Negative* was given to the query : 'An tolerari possit Feria V in Coena Domini, Altare majus Ecclesiae Sepulcri Altare esse ?' ¹

The other queries scarcely need a reply. The high altar will naturally be used for the ceremonies of Good Friday. At the proper time the Blessed Sacrament is brought back to it from the altar of repose. If there is a side altar in the chapel it can easily be fitted up as an altar of repose. If not, a temporary structure, in the shape of an altar, should be erected, on which is placed the *Capsula*.

We gather from a note accompanying these queries that our correspondent himself has little doubt as to the proper course to be followed. We will only add that if, in the circumstances in which he is concerned, the necessary requirements are not provided he should refuse to carry out the ceremonies—for the answer of the Congregation of Rites expressly states that the practice of using the high altar as the altar of repose 'cannot be tolerated.' It is not such a difficult matter to fit up a proper altar of repose, especially when there is a side altar in the chapel.

MAY ONE PRIEST PERFORM THE CEREMONIES OF BAPTISM, AND ANOTHER CONFER THE SACRAMENT?

REV. DEAR SIR,—A solution of the following difficulty would much oblige a subscriber. An unbaptized catechumen is anxious to be received into the Church by a priest who is unable to read. Would the latter be justified in utilizing the services of another priest to perform the ceremonies, whilst he himself administered the sacrament of Baptism ?

L. O'H.

Since the convert is to be baptized absolutely there is question only of the ceremonies of baptism. When a Bishop baptizes the ceremonies which precede the actual baptism may be performed by a priest. But this privilege is not granted when a priest is the minister of the sacrament. ' Tam actum baptizandi,' says the Congregation of Rites,² ' quam alias functiones praeparatorias pro baptizandis Turcis et alias ad fidem venientibus, esse faciendas per eundem Sacerdotem baptizantem.' The wish of a catechumen to be baptized by a particular priest is not, in our opinion, a sufficient reason for departing from this rule.

COLOUR OF THE STOLE TO BE USED IN BLESSING A DOLOUR BEADS. HOW THE SCAPULAR-MEDAL MAY BE WORN

REV. DEAR SIR,—1. I have received the faculty 'Coronas VII Dolorum Beatae Mariae Virginis per dolentis Matris nostrae, necnon

¹ Decr. Auth. n. 4077, ad x.

² Decr. Auth. n. 1325.

eiusdem parvum habitum benedicendi, eumque imponendi Christi-fidelibus utriusque sexus, cum omnibus indulgentiis et gratiis spiritu-alibus, quibus sodales Confraternitatis VII Dolorum Beatae Mariae Virginis gaudent.' And the accompanying rite for blessing, imposition, and reception, and the blessing of the beads at the same time or as a distinct act, says that the stole to be used is violet. The *Novissima editio Taurinensis* of the Roman Ritual prescribes the white stole in both cases. Which rubric or prescription is to be followed?

2. The scapular medal must be worn day and night and it need not be worn around the neck. How, then, is it to be decently worn at night? May a person who has it in his vest pocket or attached to the chain of his watch be said to be wearing it so far as to gain the indulgences and privileges of the scapulars for which he has taken it as a substitute?

TENEBRAE.

1. *White* is given as the colour of the stole, not only by Beringer but also by the recent revised edition of the Roman Ritual. This colour, therefore, ought to be used.

2. It would be convenient to have a special scapular-medal for night use which can be worn around the neck or attached to the night clothes. With regard to the general mode of wearing the medal, all that the decree requires is that it be worn 'seu ad collum, seu aliter, decenter tamen super propriam personam.' It is quite sufficient if the medal is kept in a vest pocket or is attached to a watch chain.

T. O'DOHERTY.

CORRESPONDENCE

CHURCH BUILDING

REV. DEAR SIR,—One or two copies of the I. E. RECORD for March have been sent me by friends in the hope that I might be interested in Dr. Byrne's further contribution to the discussion on church-building matters in progress for the past year in its pages. If I might venture to do so, I should like to offer a suggestion, which bears directly on the latter's remarks on church decoration and painting in the issue in question, and on mine in the short contribution I made to the discussion in the issue of June of last year.

In that article I made reference to the futility of regarding any form of cement, either used in the form of rough casting or stucco finish, as an antidote to arrest percolation or constitutional dampness in church walling, unless used in conjunction with some reliable form of waterproofing compound. I should, perhaps, have added at the time that, as the building world abounds in innumerable specifics and liquid silicates of various kinds to counteract this very common form of trouble, considerable caution should be adopted against their indiscriminate use, and that under no circumstances whatever should they be used without the advice and under the direct supervision of an architect. Perhaps I did not emphasize sufficiently the vital necessity of this at the time, and I now desire, with your permission, to rectify the sin of omission on this head.

It may be suggested that advice on this head is unnecessary, when one recalls the fact that no two walls bear any comparison either in constitution or construction to each other; and that their general and particular characteristics would require to be studied specially by one skilled in such matters, as an architect naturally would be. Indeed, it is scarcely fair to the manufacturers of these specifics for damp walls to employ them without the advice of an architect, as walls are damp for many and various reasons, and the antidote for wall A may be fundamentally different in the case of wall B. The necessity, then, of skilled advice and consultation being obvious, it cannot be otherwise than a sheer waste of time and money, in the vast majority of cases, to make use of some advertised specific, applied, it may safely be assumed, by some handy-man deficient not alone in his knowledge of the material he is using, but the constitution of the matter treated and the reason of its existence.

May I also add a note of sincere approval of Dr. Byrne's remarks in

reference to that monstrous embellishment known to us as mechanical stencil work in decorative treatment, and to his suggestion, admirable in conception, and capable of infinite future good to those who in the years to come will be entrusted with the care and custody of our churches : a course of lectures to students, in their last year in ecclesiastical colleges, on Church Decoration and the general principles of construction used in churches. For those who wished to pursue the study further, it might be possible also to treat of architectural theory, a fascinating and exceedingly interesting study for everyone, but in a vastly greater degree for those who are in immediate contact with the principle and the art every day of their lives, which is the case with Church students.

J. V. BRENNAN, *Architect.*

BELFAST BANK CHAMBERS,
Belfast.

DOCUMENTS

DOUBT REGARDING THE VALIDITY OF BAPTISM SOLVED BY THE SACRED CONGREGATION OF THE SACRAMENTS

(November 17, 1916)

[The Baptism in the case is declared invalid, because the application of the matter was not performed by the minister of the Sacrament.]

SACRA CONGREGATIO DE DISCIPLINA SACRAMENTORUM

VALIDITATIS BAPTISMATIS

Revñmus Ordinarius S . . . haec retulit huic Sacrae Congregationi :

‘Ad tribunal ecclesiasticum huius Dioeceseos inductus est quidam casus circa validitatem matrimonii, quae validitas dependet a validitate baptismatis. Iamvero baptisma ita collatum fuit. Aderat piscina : ministellus acatholicus protulit verba *ego te baptizo* consona ritui Ecclesiae ; at ipse non infudit aquam, nec sponsam submersit ; sed, prolatis verbis, ipsa sponsa descendit in piscinam et percurrens aquam, ipsa se submersit.’

Hinc petuit ut S. Congregatio respondere dignaretur : *An validum dici possit baptisma in casu.*

Adnotanda.—I. Nulla difficultas in hac re oriri potest ex parte ministri, quatenus sectae acatholicae addicti. Non enim agitur de licita, sed de valida tantummodo collatione sacramenti.

II. Ut certum hic praesupponitur ministellum acatholicum protulisse integrum formam : *ego te baptizo in nomine Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti.* Id satis aperte innuitur ex relatione ipsius Ordinarii, affirmantis ministellum protulisse verba : *ego te baptizo* consona ritui Ecclesiae. Iamvero ritus Ecclesiae tum latinae, tum graecae praescribit, uti formam substantialem baptismatis, formulam praedictam cum invocatione trium Personarum SS̄mae Trinitatis, quae tradita fuit directe a Christo Domino ; ita ut si minister protulisset tantummodo verba : *ego te baptizo*, baptisma esset certo invalidum.

III. Casus, prout exponitur, manifestat, post prolationem formae evenisse applicationem materiae : *prolati verbis, ipsa sponsa se submersit.* Communis doctrina est ad validitatem baptismatis non requiri unionem physicam materiae et formae, sed satis esse unionem moralem, quae habetur tum si fiat ablutio immediate antequam forma absolvatur, tum si fiat immediate post. Haec unio moralis videtur exstissee in casu exposito, quia innuitur immediata successio inter prolationem verborum

et descensum mulieris in piscinam. Proinde ex hoc capite non appareat ratio invaliditatis baptismatis.

IV. Sed potior et ineluctabilis difficultas contra validitatem baptismatis in casu exurgit ex applicatione materiae, quae minime facta fuit a ministro.

Doctrina catholica certissime tenet ab uno eodemque ministro ponendi debet materia simulque formam baptismatis proferri; secus enim forma: *ego te baptizo, ego te abluo* falsitate laboraret. S. Thomas (*Summa Theol.*, III p., q. 67, a. 6 ad 3) ait: 'dicendum quod integritas baptismi consistit in forma verborum et in usu materiae; et ideo neque ille qui tantum verba profert, baptizat, neque ille qui immergit. Et ideo, si unus verba proferat et alius immergit, nulla forma verborum poterit esse conveniens.'

Rituale Romanum (tit. 2, cap. 1, n. 10), paucis perstringens doctrinam catholicam circa praedictam unionem faciendam ab uno eodemque subiecto, praescribit: *idem sit aquam adhibens et verba pronuntians.*

At in casu exposito nulla ratione innuitur ministellum aliquid externe peregisse ad applicandam aliquo modo materiam subiecto, immo contrarium exprimitur. Dicitur enim: *ipse (ministellus) non infudit aquam, nec sponsam submersit, sed, prolatis verbis, ipsa sponsa descendit in piscinam, et percurrens aquam, ipsa se submersit.* Patet igitur baptismus ex hoc capite invalidum censeri debere.

Emi ac Rmi Patres huius S. Congregationis, omnibus mature persensis, in plenario conventu habito die 17 novembris 1916, proposito dubio: *An validum dici possit baptisma in casu, respondendum censuerunt: Prout proponitur, negative.*

✠ ALOISIUS CAPOTOSTI, Ep. Thermen., *Secretarius.*

CERTAIN PRAYERS FOR THE UNITY OF THE CHURCH ARE ENRICHED WITH INDULGENCES

(February 25, 1916)

[(1) The prescribed prayers are—*Ant.* (John xvii. 21): 'That they all may be one, as thou, Father, in me, and I in thee, that they also may be one in us; that the world may believe that thou sent has me. *V.* And I say to thee that thou art Peter. *R.* And upon this rock I will build my Church. *Prayer.* Lord Jesus Christ, who saidst to thy Apostles, Peace I leave with you, my peace I give unto you, regard not my sins but the faith of thy Church, and vouchsafe to it that peace and unity which is agreeable to thy will; who livest and reignest God for ever and ever. *R. Amen.*'

(2) The prescribed conditions are—(a) that these prayers be said once each day from January 18, Feast of St. Peter's Chair, to January 25 (inclusive), Feast of the Conversion of St. Paul; (b) that having confessed and received Holy Communion on the last of the eight days a church or public oratory is visited and prayers are there offered for concord amongst Christian princes, for the extirpation of heresy, for the conversion of sinners and for the exaltation of Holy Church.

(3) The indulgences are—(a) a Plenary indulgence on the fulfilment of the above conditions; (b) a relaxation in the usual form of the Church of two hundred days of penances enjoined upon or otherwise due to any of the faithful who, with contrite hearts, recite the prescribed prayers on any one of the eight days.

(4) The indulgences are all applicable to the Holy Souls.

P.S.—The decree, though dated February, 1916, was not published until February, 1917.]

**PRECES QUAEDAM AD ECCLESIAE UNITATEM A DOMINO IMPETRANDAM
INDULGENTIIS DITANTUR**

BENEDICTUS PP. XV

Ad perpetuam rei memoriam.—Romanorum Pontificum Decessorum Nostrorum omni tempore inferuit, atque item Nostra plurimum refert, ut Christiani, qui a Catholica Religione acerbe desciverint, ad eam tandem, utpote ad derelictam matrem, revocentur. In unitate enim fidei praecipua enitet Ecclesiae veritatis nota, neque aliter Paulus Apostolus Ephesios ad spiritus unitatem in vinculo pacis servandam hortatur, quam praedicando unum esse Dominum, unam fidem, unum baptisma (IV, 5). Iucundo igitur accepimus animo, a Sodalitate, quam ‘Expiationis’ vocant, Neo-Eboraci instituta, preces propositas esse, a festo Romanae Cathedrae B. Petri usque ad festum Conversionis S. Pauli recitandas, ut hic unitatis finis a Domino impetraretur, et gavisi pariter sumus, quod huiusmodi preces a rec. mem. Pio PP. X benedictae et a Sacrorum Americae Antistitibus approbatae, in Foederatos Status iam sint longe lateque diffusae. Itaque ut, ad optatum exitum facilius consequendum, supradictae preces ubique gentium et cum uberi animorum fructu Deo adhibeantur, Nos, auditis etiam VV. FF. NN. S. R. E. Cardinalibus Inquisitoribus Generalibus, omnibus ac singulis utriusque sexus Christifidelibus, qui ubique terrarum a die duodecimmo mensis ianuarii, Romanae Cathedrae B. Petri sacro, usque ad diem quintum et vicesimum eiusdem mensis, quo S. Pauli recolitur Conversio, eas, quae subiiciuntur, preces semel in die quotannis recitaverint, ac postremo huius octidui die, vere poenitentes et confessi ac S. Communione refecti et quavis Ecclesia vel publico Oratorio visitato, ibidem pro Christianorum Principum concordia, haeresum extirpatione, peccatorum conversione ac S. Matris Ecclesiae exaltatione pias ad Deum preces effuderint, plenariam omnium peccatorum suorum indulgentiam et remissionem misericorditer in Domino concedimus ac largimur. Veniam praeterea tribuimus, cuius vi ad praedictam plenariam lucrandam indulgentiam, admissa rite expiari ac S. Synaxis suscipi, nec non visitatio peragi etiam festo Cathedrae S. Petri Romae, licite queant. Insuper iisdem fidelibus, qui, corde saltem contriti, quolibet ex octo memoratis diebus easdem preces dixerint, ducentos dies de iniunctis eis, seu alias quomodolibet debitissimis poenitentiis in forma Ecclesiae consueta relaxamus. Quas omnes et singulas indulgentias, peccatorum remissiones ac poenitiarum relaxations etiam animabus fidelium in Purgatorio detentis per modum suffragii applicari posse indulgemus. Praesentibus perpetuo

valituris. In contrarium facientibus non obstantibus quibuscumque. Preces autem in octiduo, quod supra statuimus, pro Ecclesiae unitate recitandae, hae sunt, et ne quid in eis irrepatur immutationis, earum exemplar in Tabulario Brevium Apostolicorum asservari iubemus.

‘*Ant. (Ioannis, XVII, 21)*: Ut omnes unum sint, sicut tu, Pater, in me, et ego in te, ut et ipsi in nobis unum sint; ut credat mundus, quia tu me misisti.

‘*V. Ega dico tibi quia tu es Petrus.*

‘*R. Et super hanc petram aedificabo Ecclesiam meam.*

ORATIO.

‘Domine Iesu Christe, qui dixisti Apostolis tuis: Pacem relinquo vobis, pacem meam do vobis: ne respicias peccata mea, sed fidem Ecclesiae tuae: eandem secundum voluntatem tuam pacificare et coadunare digneris: qui vivis et regnas Deus per omnia saecula saeculorum.

‘*R. Amen.*’

Datum Romae apud S. Petrum, sub annulo Piscatoris, die xxv februarii MCMXVI, Pontificatus Nostri anno secundo.

P. CARD. GASPARRI, *a Secretis Status.*

INDULGENCES ARE GRANTED TO THE FAITHFUL OF PERTH, IN THE DIOCESE OF DUNKELD, WHO RECITE DAILY THREE TIMES THE ANGELICAL SALUTATION FOR THE CONVERSION OF SCOTLAND

(May 13, 1916)

CHRISTIFIDELIBUS LOCI ‘PERTH’ DIOECESIS • DUNKELDENSIS, TER SALUTATIONEM ANGELICAM PRO SCOTIAE CONVERSIONE RECITANTIBUS, NONNULLAE INDULGENTIAE CONCEDUNTUR.

BENEDICTUS PP. XV

Ad perpetuam rei memoriam.—Rector Ecclesiae B. Mariae Virginis de Perpetuo Succursu Congregationis SS^{mi} Redemptoris in oppido *Perth*, Dioecesis Dunkeldensis intra fines, refert ad Nos in memorata Ecclesia pium apud fideles usum invaluisse, ut quotidie ter Salutationem Angelicam pro Scotiae ad veram fidem conversione recitent. Ut vero tam frugifera devotio magis magisque amplificetur, enixas Nobis enunciatae Ecclesiae Rector humiliter adhibet preces, ut ipsi quotidianae recitationi, sive publice sive privatim habendae, nonnullas de thesauro Ecclesiae indulgentias de Apostolica benignitate largiri dignemur. Nos votis his annuentes, auditis VV. FF. NN. S. R. E. Cardinalibus Inquisitoribus generalibus, de omnipotentis Dei misericordia, ac SS. Petri et Pauli Apostolorum Eius auctoritate confisi, omnibus eius loci fidelibus ex utroque sexu, qui saltem contrito corde ter Salutationem Angelicam pro Scotiae ad Religionem Catholicam conversione recitent, quoties id egerint, de numero poenitentiarum in forma Ecclesiae solita trecentos dies expungimus. Iis vero fidelibus, qui per solidum mensem quotidie

Salutationem ipsam Angelicam ad enunciatum finem recitent, unoque ipsius mensis die, ad cuiusque lubitum elegendo, admissorum Sacramentali confessione expiati ac coelestibus epulis refecti, publicum quodvis templum sive Oratorium celebrant, ibique pro Christianorum Principum concordia, haeresum extirpatione, peccatorum conversione ac S. Matris Ecclesiae exaltatione pias ad Deum preces effundant, plenariam omnium peccatorum suorum indulgentiam et remissionem misericorditer in Domino concedimus. Porro largimur fidelibus ipsis, si malint, liceat plenariis his ac partialibus indulgentiis functorum vita labes poenasque expiare. Contrariis non obstantibus quibuscumque. Praesentibus perpetuis futuris temporibus valiturs. Volumus autem, ut praesentium Litterarum transumptis, seu exemplis, etiam impressis, manu alicuius Notarii publici subscriptis, ac sigillo personae in ecclesiastica dignitate vel officio constitutae munitis, eadem prorsus fides adhibetur, qua adhiberetur ipsis praesentibus si forent exhibitae vel ostensae.

Datum Romae apud S. Petrum, sub annulo Piscatoris, die XIII maii anni MCMXVI, Pontificatus Nostri anno secundo.

P. CARD. GASPARRI, *a Secretis Status.*

APPLICATION OF A BISHOP TO HAVE MASSES CONDONED AND SATISFACTION MADE FROM THE TREASURY OF THE CHURCH

(*November 22, 1915*)

[The decree was published only in January, 1917.]

SACRA CONGREGATIO CONCILII
DIOECESIS H***

ABSOLUTIONIS ET CONDONATIONIS MISSARUM

Die 20 novembris 1915

Species facti.—Ad hanc S. Concilii Congregationem datis reverenter litteris, exponebat Episcopus H. . . ., N. N., eius dioecesis parochum, morte correptum fuisse, antequam res suas apto ordine disponere valuisset. Inter cetera compertum, parochum hunc quemdam Missarum manuallium numerum adhuc persolvendum reliquisse, quarum stipendia omnino consumpscerat. Quum autem, teste Episcopo, nullus esset defuncti sacerdotis superstes heres nullaque hereditas nisi debitorum, ac propterea deesset quicumque *iustitiae* titulo obligatus ad supplenda Missarum onera; quum etiam fieri non posset ut titulo *charitatis*, Curia episcopal is aut dioecesani sacerdotes huiusmodi onus in se susciperent, attenta Curiae et cleri paupertate, suppliciter idem Episcopus Beatissimum Patrem rogabat, ut dignaretur ‘super neglectas Missarum satisfactiones condonationem clementissime concedere.’

Animadversiones.—Qui super hac facti specie scripsit Consultor, censem quidem locum esse petitae condonationi eamque efficacem fore in supplendo de Ecclesiae thesauro iuxta mensuram divini beneplaciti, fructu Missarum non celebratarum; contendit tamen conditionem *sine qua non* petitae concessionis eam esse, ut aliquis christifidelis viator opus

quoddam bonum, quamvis non proportionatum, ad hanc intentionem peragat; hoc autem bonum opus opportune constituetur—ex Consultoris sententia—etiam in unius Missae celebratione. Quapropter precibus Episcopi oratoris respondendum proponit iuxta hanc formulam: ‘Quatenus non desit sacerdos qui paratus sit ex charitate unam Missam applicare pro oneribus a defuncto relictis, sacra Congregatio Concilii, peracta illius celebratione, reliquarum Missarum defectum supplet de thesauro Ecclesiae: secus nihil aliud superest, nisi ut *oretur pro defuncto.*’

Huiusmodi conclusionem idem Consultor hisce rationum momentis fulcit.

In primis dubium non est posse a R. P. generatim Missarum condonationem concedi, quod dilucide ostendit, cum communi, Pasqualigo, *De Sacrif. Nov. legis*, II, q. 1151 ubi scribit: ‘Dicendum est, Summum Pontificem posse supplere fructum plurium sacrificiorum per dispensationem meritorum Christi, quae sunt in thesauro Ecclesiae. Pro quo supponendum est tamquam certum, adesse in Ecclesia thesaurum in quo recondita sunt merita et satisfactiones Christi, ut tradunt communiter Theologi,’ quorum plurimos allegat, post S. Thom., *Suppl.*, q. 25, a. 1, ‘et desumitur ex Clem. VI in extrav. *Unigenitum*, de poenit. et remis. ibi: *quem quidem thesaurum, non in sudario repositum, non in agro absconditum, sed per Beatum Petrum coeli clavigerum eiusque successores, suos in terris Vicarios, commissis fidelibus salubriter dispensandum.* Hinc autem desumitur ratio: Fructus sacrificii consistit in propitiatione, impetratiōne et satisfactione, ut constat ex Conc. Trid., sess. XXII, can. 3, *de sacr. Miss.* Rursus sacrificium non causat hos effectus seu fructus, nisi quatenus applicat virtutem et fructum sacrificii Crucis, ut desumitur ex eodem Conc., sess. XXII, cap. 1, *de sacr. Miss.* Cum ergo fructus sacrificii Missae consistat in applicatione virtutis sacrificii Crucis, et possit Summus Pontifex hanc virtutem applicare, siquidem est reposita in thesauro Ecclesiae, cum sit fundata in meritis et satisfactionibus Christi, et ipse sit dispensator eiusdem thesauri, poterit mediante applicatione virtutis sacrificii Crucis supplere fructum plurium sacrificiorum.’

Stante hac doctrina, quod videlicet facta applicatione thesauri Ecclesiae per R. P., suppleatur *fructus* sacrificii Missae, etiam sequitur post eamdem factam applicationem relevari ab onere celebrandi quicumque ad hoc tenebatur, dummodo Missae non fuerint institutae ob commoditatem populi, vel ob cultum Ecclesiae, vel ob aliquem huiusmodi finem, ita ut, quod principaliter intenditur non sit fructus sacrificii, sed ipsa actio celebrandi, quae suppleri non potest. Etenim, seclusa hac hypothesi, quum ordinario qui dant eleemosynam non intendant nisi fructum sacrificii, dum Pontifex supplet de thesauro Ecclesiae fructum Missarum, commendantes percipiunt aequalem fructum ceu perciperent si celebrarentur omnes Missae commendatae. ‘Ergo nullum praeiudicium patiuntur, et obligatus celebrare censetur solvere totum id, ad quod in favorem commandantium Missas se obligavit, non secus ac si obligatus solvere decem aureos, solveret unam monetam quae decem aureis aequipolleret’ (Pasqualigo, l.c., q. 1152).

Itaque absolutionis seu condonationis Missarum duplex considerari potest effectus, alter *immediatus*, in supplendo, per applicationem virtutis sacrificii Crucis, quae in thesauro Ecclesiae praecipue spectatur et continetur, fructus celebrationis Missarum commendatarum; alter *mediatus* (qui nempe pec praecedentem obtinetur), in relevando sacerdotem oneratum ab ulteriori obligatione conscientiae pro Missis nondum celebratis. Manifestum autem est hunc alterum effectum mediatum obtineri non posse, si sacerdos oneratus iam defunctus sit, quando de absolutione concedenda agitur; tunc enim iustum Dei iudicium cum eo completum est, nec potest anima illius iuvari nisi per modum suffragii: atque in hunc sensum saepius Apostolica Sedes petitionibus id genus describere consuevit: *Oretur pro defuncto*. Attamen alter effectus, seu immediatus, hac ipsa de causa quod ab altero non dependet, sed potius e converso, adhuc obtineri posse videtur, neque spernendus est, quum immo magni momenti sit, pias oblatorum intentiones, sive ad vivorum utilitatem sive ad defunctorum suffragium pertingant, non defraudari.

Quaerendum igitur, ait Consultor, sub qua conditione valeat R. P., thesauri Ecclesiae solus dispensator, illum reserare ut ex eo, urgente necessitate, suppleantur fructus omnes a commendantibus Missas intenti, quamvis sine actuali Missarum celebratione. Ad rem animadvertisit huiusmodi gratiam condonationis, supplente Sanctitate Sua de Ecclesiae thesauro, esse in genere *indulgentiarum*, hac una posita differentia, quod in indulgentiis applicantur dumtaxat *satisfactiones* Christi ac Sanctorum, quarum virtute poena temporalis peccati remittitur, dum in condonatione Missarum applicatur *virtus* ipsa sacrificii Crucis, cum *fructibus* inde consequentibus (quatenus hominibus sunt applicabiles ac pro mensura divini beneplaciti), atque exinde supplentur fructus ex actuali Missarum celebratione percepiendi. Haec tamen differentia non impedit iuxta Consultorem, quominus gratia condonationis iisdem subsit conditionibus, sub quibus fit indulgentiarum concessio; has vero conditiones ex D. Thoma recenset, qui docet: 'dicendum quod indulgentiae simpliciter tantum valent quantum praedicantur, dummodo ex parte dantis sit *auctoritas*, ex parte recipientis *charitas*, et ex parte causae *pietas*' (*Suppl.*, q. XXV, art. 2). Communis autem doctrina est, pietatem ex parte causae id designare, quod intercedat ex parte illius, cui concessio fit, aliqua satisfactio, seu opus bonum sive meritorium, cui meritum satisfactionum Christi et Sanctorum applicari valeat: hinc est quod concessio indulgentiarum ordinario non fit, nisi iniuneto aliquo opere pio peragendo, ac etiam in indulgentiis quae in articulo mortis S. P. aliquando impertit, spectantur saltem opera bona quae moriturus in vita peregit. Hanc quoque *causam pietatis*—censem Consultor—similiter intercedere debere, ut gratiae condonationis Missarum locus fiat; hoc est requiri putat, tamquam praeviam necessariam conditionem, ut aliquis christifidelis *viator* opus quoddam bonum peragat, seu ponat, cui applicari valeant merita et satisfactiones Christi quae sunt in thesauro Ecclesiae hominibus applicabilia, adeo ut fructus Sacrorum omissorum aequipollenter obtineri queat.

Hoc autem opus bonum, quum, prout patet ex dictis, non secus ac

in ceteris indulgentiae formis sit tantummodo causa motiva, non effectiva, minime requiritur proportionatum ad condonationis effectum: ut praecclare docet Angelicus: ‘Non enim causa remissionis *effectiva* est vel devotio vel labor vel datum recipientis indulgentiam, aut causa pro qua datur indulgentia; unde non oportet ad aliquid horum proportionare quantitatem remissionis, sed ad merita Ecclesiae, quae semper superabundant’ (*Suppl.*, q. 25, art. 2 in corp.). Ac praeterea: Causa *motiva* non requiritur ad hoc quod secundum eam mensurari debeat remissio poenae, sed ad hoc quod intentio illorum, quorum merita communicantur, ad istum pervenire possit’ (*Suppl.*, q. 25, art. 2, ad 5). Hinc est, iuxta Consultorem, ut opus bonum quod necessario requiritur peragendum, quasi causa motiva petitarum condonationis, qualiscumque fuerit numerus Missarum supplendarum, constitui possit vei in *una* Missa, per communicationem enim virtutis Sacrificii Crucis, quae est in thesauro Ecclesiae, augescet fructus huius Missae, ita ut pertingat ad valorem plurium quae neglectae fuerunt.

Hucusque votum Consultoris.

Ex officio, praxim S. C. quod spectat, recolebatur, post Lucidi, *De Visit. Ss. Liminum*, vol. II, § VIII, art. 5, n. 80 ss., hanc quoque S. C. C., etiamsi supremam a Summo Pontifice hac in re facultatem obtineat, in examine petitarum absolutionem missarum nonnullas pro constante disciplina normas adoptasse, quas idem scriptor, Lucidi, hisce complectitur: ‘Absolutio pro praeteritis omissionibus remissionem et condonationem praesefert a persolvendo eo, quod iure debetur. Iamvero huiusmodi indulgentiam adhiberi vetant decreta *de celebr. Missar.*, § 25, *insuper*, nisi ex rationabili causa seu aequa commiseratione. Quin imo si quis, sub malitiosa vel irrationabili spe absolutionis huiusmodi consequendae Missarum celebrationem omittere praesumpserit, diserte in iisdem decretis declaratur, hoc in casu, gratiam nullimode suffragari, et huiusmodi spes, utpote irrationalis et illicita, damnatur ac reprobatur.

‘Quapropter S. C. Concilii, tunc solum absolutionem pro praeteritis omissionibus imperti*i* consuevit, cum dilucide pateat absque culpa Missas celebratas non fuisse, nec ceteroquin tantus supersit redditus, ut omissionibus praeteritis suppleri valeat . . . ; namque bona fides plurimum semper valuit, ut Missarum absolutio a S. C. concederetur. Aliter vero sese gerit S. C. quandocumque constiterit, redditus adhuc satis esse oneribus sustinendis, adeoque hoc in casu omissionses quamprimum suppleri praescribit.

‘Quando vero S. C. absolutionem concedit, imponit semper salutarem aliquam poenitentiam, ac praesertim celebrandi certum Missarum numerum.’

Ex his vero colligitur, iniunctionem a S. C. fieri solitam in hisce absolutionibus concedendis, esse potius in genere *poenitentiae*, quam in eodem censu, quo, in indulgentiarum concessione, haberi, solet opus bonum a recipiente indulgentiam peragendum. Quin immo iuxta Benedictum XIV, *de syn. dioec.*, l. XIII, c. 15, ipsa Apostolica Sedes causam hanc pietatis, quatenus necessaria dicatur, in se suscepisse videtur, quum ‘in suffragium et expiationem animarum, pro quibus omissa Sacrificia

offerri debuerant, congruum Missarum numerum celebrari quotidie mandet ab aliquibus Cappellanis huic muneri addictis in Vaticana Basilica'; cui argumento aliud addi potest quod suppeditat praeclara Constitutio Ss̄m̄i Dñi Nostri Benedicti XV, *Incruentum Altaris* d. 10 aug. 1915, ubi altera e tribus Missis omnibus Sacerdotibus die solemnis commemorationis Defunctorum celebrandis indultis reservari iubetur 'ad mentem Summi Pontificis, quam satis superque declaravimus' nempe 'ut omissa cum ingenti defunctorum detimento suffragio, quantum in Nobis est, aliquo pacto suppleamus.' Cfr. *Act. Ap. Sedis*, 1915, p. 403.

RESOLUTIO.—Quum porro in plenariis comitiis Ēmorum Patrum S. C. Concilii die 20 nov. 1915, cum praemissis animadversionibus propositae fuissent preces Episcopi H., super his rescribendum Ēmī Patres censuerunt: 'S. C. attentis expositis, benigne tribuit Episcopo oratori facultatem impertiendi petitam condonationem: curet tamen idem Episcopus ut una saltem Missa celebretur pro oneribus quorum satisfactionem omisit defunctus parochus, supplente in reliquis Sanctitate Sua de thesauro Ecclesiae.'

Quam resolutionem SS. D. N. Benedictus Div. Prov. PP. XV, in audience infrascripto Secretario concessa die 22 eiusdem mensis et anni, approbavit.

O. GIORGI, *Secretarius.*

REVIEWS AND NOTES

THE MASS EVERY DAY IN THE YEAR—THE ROMAN MISSAL. Translated and arranged by Edward Pace, D.D., and John Wynne, S.J. London : The Encyclopedia Press.

ABOUT a year ago the Encyclopedia Press (publishers of the *Catholic Encyclopedia*), published a neat, timely, and cheap prayer-book, *The Sunday Missal*, containing the Mass in English for Sundays, Holidays, and other days of special observance. The extraordinary success of that book encouraged the compiler to undertake the complete translation of the Roman Missal. This book runs into about fifteen hundred pages, and yet it is by no means bulky—in fact, it is only about the dimensions of the larger size prayer-books in ordinary use. This triumph of book-making is secured by means of a special India paper. The type is large, is very pleasant to the sight, and there is no crowding. The prices are extraordinarily low for a book of fifteen hundred pages in the best paper, binding, and workmanship, namely, six shillings (leatherette) and eight shillings (leather).

A short preface explains the vestments, the drapery of the altar, the things used in Mass, etc., and an appendix gives some very useful prayers and devotions for special occasions. A new and special feature of the book is the neat, concise, accurate, and helpful synopsis of the life of each and every saint prefacing the Mass of the Saints throughout the year. The directions for the use of the Missal are unmistakable, and reduce to simplicity itself the exact reading of the Mass of the day. All are in perfect conformity with the latest liturgical decrees. There are no confusing rubrics on the various kinds of feasts, etc., but for each year a neat calendar of twelve pages in the same superfine paper is brought out, at the price of a few pence, which gives the feasts for the days throughout the year with concise and suitable directions. The calendar accompanying the book we have received is in accordance with the *Ordo* in use in America. We do not know if a calendar for Ireland or England is also published. We should like to suggest that this might be done in order to facilitate the using of the Missal in these countries. In the porch of some churches, however, a weekly calendar of the Feasts and Masses is put up. This practice is to be commended. It would do away with the necessity of a printed calendar for the laity. Moreover, it would be a means of informing all of the precise Sunday of the ecclesiastical year, and would enable them to read the Epistle and Gospel of the Sunday (found in every prayer-book) at Sunday Mass. These are two desirable things ; and, if some means could be adopted of bringing

them before the congregation at every Mass on Sunday, it would be a step in the right direction.

The Douay Version of the Bible, as recommended by the Hierarchy of Ireland, is adopted in the Scriptural passages of the Mass Book, but the compilers, we consider, have changed very judiciously certain phrasings, thereby making the English more pleasant and the meaning more intelligible. The translation of the prayers, etc., keeps close to the original, but with an ease and rhythm that make it smooth and appealing. There are just a few mistakes in some of the directions given for Votive Masses, etc. Although the general rubric given at the head of these Masses is quite correct, yet the recitation of the *Gloria* is erroneously indicated in a few. But this is a minor point—we expect the mistakes are mere oversights.

The Mass Book is about the most perfect of its kind that has yet appeared, in form, printing, binding, translation, and directions. It is a work that reflects the highest credit on its gifted compilers and on the firm that has published it. We congratulate both on their beautiful work, and wish them the success that their labours richly deserve.

M. R.

POLAND : A STUDY IN NATIONAL IDEALISM. By Monica Gardner.
London : Burns & Oates.

For more than a hundred years Poland has presented to Europe the spectacle of a nation rent asunder. Eighty years ago, Montalembert gave her the name of the 'nation in mourning.' That title has never lost its application. On the one side, in the country itself, the prisons and the mines were the price the Pole paid for remaining a Pole. On the other, beyond the frontiers, there were the throngs of Polish exiles, dragging out lives of poverty, homesickness, and grief. The nation, however, lived on, though her life was mutilated. And yet those years when Poland had no history except that life, jealously preserved against proscription and penalty in the heart of every Pole, coincided with the splendid outburst of Polish literature. It was the sorrows of Poland that gave birth to her great romantic song which, for its tragic power, its idealism, no less than for its haunting beauty, ranks among the noblest productions of European art.

The Polish poets rose as the national teachers and moral leaders. The national literature was no mere art, an element disconnected with the deep things of life. It spoke straight to a stern purpose. It was a weapon, and as powerful a weapon as any that she could have chosen, in the cause of Poland. 'Each work was at the same time an action.' Poland's poets were more than her poets. They were her patriots. Their works, though banned, were smuggled into the country, read behind barred doors, and afterwards burned, for it meant exile to be found in possession of any of them. (Indeed, a mother could not even teach her child the prayers in Polish except in the sacred sanctuary of the child's bedroom.) Poland's poets, almost without exception, were living in exile and penury ; their lives had been ravaged with personal afflictions

that the tragedies of their country had brought upon them. Grief at separation from their dear country, loneliness for the home of their youth, heart-rendings at being torn from their beloved families—these were the burden of their sublime poetry and their patriotic prose.

Poland's poets and thinkers sought for some explanation of her tragedy to justify the working of Providence, to save their country from the atrophy and despair that would destroy her as certainly as all exterior persecution. Thus arose the dreams of a Polish national mysticism, known by the name of Messianism. As Christ redeemed us by embracing death, and afterwards rose again, so, in the political world, one nation has been signalled out to lay down her life. Poland's sufferings are the price by which the new and better epoch of humanity shall come about. She will rise gloriously to be the spiritual leader of the world, where all nations and governments will be united in Christ and rule in the spirit of Christ. ‘One of the two—either the blessed future of humanity is forfeited, or the condition of its fulfilment is the life of Poland’—words that may, indeed, be prophetic. Though tending somewhat to exaggeration, yet, with its promises made conditional on each one’s purity of soul, Messianism may be taken as a sublime spiritualization of national suffering.

Yet, whatever its deep melancholy, there is in Poland's patriotic and prophetic song neither pessimism nor despair. The idealism, the immense vitality of the Polish race by which it has preserved its life, speak throughout the literature that is the direct outcome of national calamity, whose themes are built upon a national tragedy. The poetry of Mickiewicz, Krasinski, Slowacki, and Zaleski is the ethical armoury of Poland. The ultimate triumph of moral over material preponderance is the inheritance that the poet-patriots left to their people; rather, it is part and parcel of the Polish soul, the magnificent expression of and truest index to the Polish spirit and mind.

Miss Gardner, a devoted and accomplished student of Polish literature, is well qualified for the pleasant task she has undertaken of giving to the people of these countries, practically for the first time, an idea of the wonderful beauty and sublimity of Polish literature. She has produced a work of singular and pathetic charm, of remarkable literary value, that reveals a knowledge, a sympathy, a vision to which few of her countrymen could attain. The passages from the poets are happily chosen and give a true and living picture of the relations between the poet and his country. The translations are of great beauty—often with the wild and wayward beauty which we associate with Chopin. The book is not merely a literary triumph, it is also a critical and intensely interesting historical review of Poland and its greatest writers. It is the story of a soul, the soul of a nation, the soul of a great Catholic nation in its travail and agony. It is a story that appeals especially to Irishmen, who must see in almost every detail of Polish history in the last hundred years an almost perfect parallel with the sufferings, ideals, and aspirations of our own sorely-tried country. We congratulate Miss Gardner on the happy completion of a difficult and laborious task and on her beautiful and worthy contribution to contemporary literature.

M. R.

Ámhráin Tóarmaíada Mac Séáin Óuiré Mac Cárthaig. Edited by Táos Ó Connéadá, Dublin : M. H. Gill & Son, Ltd.

THIS is a reprint from the *Iverian Journal*. In addition to twelve poems by Tóarmaíada mac Séáin Óuiré Mac Cárthaig—containing a total of 938 lines—Tóarma has given the Irish-reading public eight other poems by various authors, all of them bearing in some way on the work of Tóarmaíada himself. Of these eight, five are replies to Tóarmaíada's elegy on the death of his horse—"Caoimhíod mire m'fáilte." The three remaining ones are elegies on Tóarmaíada himself—"Aónad d'amha," by Maoghnar Ó Gláimín; "Créad an Fheargh ro," by Seán Ó n-Eactigeirinn; and "Muskria Tota," a Latin elegy by the Rev. Cornelius Curtain. Of this last poem I cannot refrain from quoting a few lines to show at once the esteem in which Tóarmaíada was held by his contemporaries, and the extent of classical scholarship among the priests and poets of the time.

Sic perit Eous post plurima saecula Phoenix,
 Sic se lamentans dulcis obivit Olor.
 Sic Aquila emoritur post mille per astra volatus,
 Sic rosa marcescit, sic Philomela perit.
 Ergo jaces gelida, Demetri candide, in urna
 Ah dilecte mihi caelicolisque senex !
 Te vivum colui, te cassum luce sequentur
 Constanti studio vota, precesque, mea.

The editing is done in Tóarma's usual scholarly style. The introductions to the various poems are written in Irish, and give plenty of information as to the subject-matter, places, and personages of the poems ; while the lists of *variae lectiones* will naturally assist the critical student in his perusal of the text. Some of the poems throw valuable historical sidelights on the relations between Catholics and Protestants during the Jacobite wars, and all of them are teeming with a wealth of topographical and personal allusions. When we have equally satisfactory editions of all the seventeenth-century poets, we shall have made a great advance in the study of early modern Irish Literature.

§. Ó n.

THE STUDENT'S CATHOLIC DOCTRINE. By Charles Hart, B.A. London : R. & T. Washbourne, Ltd.

'THIS volume,' the author states, 'has been written primarily for the use of colleges, prospective teachers, and for private instruction. It is hoped, too, that it will be found especially suitable to put into the hands of the intending convert.' We are glad to be able to say that we consider it eminently suitable for all those purposes.

The general arrangement of the book is based, as far as possible, on the division and order of the Catechism. The marginal notes to the various paragraphs are a great help to the student and to the ordinary reader. There is abundance of matter in it, judiciously chosen, and presented in a simple yet dignified style. The author, a teacher in St. Cuthbert's Grammar School, clearly understands the necessities and the difficulties of the subject, and how they should be dealt with. We were

very pleased to see that he makes abundant use of the Scriptures, and concludes almost every paragraph with a well-chosen and appropriate quotation from them. The utility of such a method is very apparent in these our days, for a ready quotation from the Scriptures is very effective when our college boys and girls go out into the world.

The book is one that we should gladly see employed in the religious instruction of our adult boys and girls. A higher course of such instruction is a thing that, we are inclined to think, is not sufficiently attended to. It is at the period of adolescence, when the minds of boys and girls begin to expand and to reason out things for themselves, that further, higher helps are required to satisfy their curiosity and impart the necessary knowledge. This book will be found amply sufficient for both these purposes. One thing we cannot help remarking in regard to most books of this kind, and indeed, in regard to lecturers, is that sufficient use is not made of the evidences of Christianity and of Catholicity from the Christian monuments, particularly from the Roman Catacombs. We were disappointed at not finding, especially in the chapters on Purgatory and the Communion of Saints, any mention of the evidences of these doctrines from the Catacombs. The *graffiti* on the walls of the Catacombs are sufficient proof, as far as tradition is concerned, living proof on dead walls, of the belief of Christians in those doctrines in the earliest ages of the Church. We heartily recommend *The Student's Catholic Doctrine* to all our Catholic colleges and convents.

M. R.

THE FACTS ABOUT LUTHER. By Right Rev. Mgr. O'Hara. London : Herder & Co.

THERE is scarcely another man about whom so much has been written in our time as about Luther. By his more enthusiastic followers he is exalted into a prophet or ambassador of God, sent to vindicate liberty of conscience and to deliver men from the bondage of Popery. By his genius, determination, and spiritual discernment, they assure us, he succeeded, despite the opposition of the Church, in restoring the Word of God to its primitive simplicity and purity.

Unhappily for the reputation of the 'Reformer' a calm survey of facts tells a different story, revealing as it does the Luther of history, who is just the opposite of the Luther of fiction. In the light of impartial criticism, the latter is a tissue of misrepresentation, while the former is a most unlovable person, destitute not only of virtue but of common decency. To students of history these things are familiar, but they are not so to the general public. With the object of enlightening persons belonging to the latter class, Mgr. O'Hara has published his *Facts about Luther*. He is no theorist ; he proves his statements by quotations from authors of admitted competency, both Catholic and Protestant. Of course the chief source of his information is Denifle. He writes for the people, and he is to be congratulated on the skill with which he accomplishes his task. Catholics who desire to know the real Luther will do well to secure this little volume.

A. O'N.

CONFERENCES FOR YOUNG WOMEN. By Rev. R. Kuehnel. London : Herder & Co.

THE title of this book is somewhat misleading. By it one would be led to expect that the book contained instructions for the many ; but an examination of the contents shows that they are intended chiefly for Children of Mary. However, a great deal of what Father Kuehnel says can be read with profit by all Christian women. The best part of the volume is, we venture to think, that dealing with mixed marriages. Here the author, who is possessed of long and varied experience in the ministry, paints in lurid colours the evils attending such unions. Also he defends, with great ability and clearness, the attitude of the Church towards marriages between Catholics and members of any heretic sect. We heartily recommend the present work to all those who have to deal with such Catholic parents as apprehend no danger from mixed marriages or even consider themselves fortunate in obtaining non-Catholic husbands for their daughters.

A. O'N.

A STORY OF LOVE. By Rev. Father Cassily. London : Herder & Co.

UNDER this attractive title, the author weaves an interesting story of God's dealings with man. He is quite free in the choice of his subjects, there being little or no logical connexion or development between chapter and chapter. This may be considered no fault in a book written confessedly to assist the devout believer. The style is limpid and pleasing. We notice, however, in one instance, a strange looseness of expression. Speaking of heaven, Father Cassily says : ' Each moment of it brings . . . further plunging and immersing into the infinite perfections of God, a deeper and more perfect appropriation and appreciation of Him and the wondrous works of His hand ' (ch. xi. p. 136). This statement needs explanation. The author should say that here he is speaking not of the essential but of the accidental happiness of the blessed.

A. O'N.

SHORT HISTORY OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH. Wedewer-M'Sorley.
Herder, 1916.

THIS manual, consisting of about three hundred and fifty pages, small 8vo, gives a clear and concise account of an all-important subject. Portions of the Freiburg Professor's *Grundriss der Kirchengeschichte* have been omitted, and other changes have been made in the work by a Paulist Father, in order to adapt it to the requirements of American schools. Also chapters have been added on foreign missions and on events since 1907, the year in which the original appeared. In its present form the work will be found very useful to teachers and pupils on this side of the Atlantic.

A BRIEF COMMENTARY ON THE LITTLE OFFICE OF THE BLESSED VIRGIN MARY. By Fr. Coppens, S.J. Herder, 1916.

THIS book, by a well-known author, will enable devout clients of Mary to appreciate the theological and historical significance of the many salutations addressed to her in a form of prayer that is used by thousands.

ILLUSTRATIONS FOR SERMONS. By Fr. Callan, O.P. Herder, 1916.

As the title indicates, this is not a volume of sermons, but a collection of examples or of quotations taken from Scripture, the Fathers, recent authors, and renowned preachers. It will be useful especially to missionary priests who may not always have time to consult large tomes when they need apt illustrations for their sermons. The work will also serve for private meditation. Indeed, judging from a remark in the preface, this use of it appears to have been prominently before Father Callan's mind, when he decided to publish the volume. The selection which it contains is excellent, and will prove to be a stimulus to thought.

A. O'N.

BOOKS, ETC., RECEIVED

America: A Catholic Review (March).
The Ecclesiastical Review (March). U.S.A
The Rosary Magazine (March). Somerset, Ohio.
The Catholic World (March). New York.
The Austral Light (February). Melbourne.
The Ave Maria (February). Notre Dame, Indiana.
The Irish Monthly (March). Dublin : M. H. Gill & Son, Ltd.
The Catholic Bulletin (March). Dublin : M. H. Gill & Son, Ltd.
The Month (March). London : Longmans.
Our Boys (March). Edited by the Christian Brothers, Dublin.
The Fortnightly Review (March). St. Louis, Mo.
The Lamp (February). Garrison, N.Y.
Missionary Record of the Oblates of Mary Immaculate (March). Dublin : O'Brien Brothers, College Street.
The Annals of Our Lady of the Sacred Heart (March). Cork : Guy & Co.
Études (March). Paris : 12 Rue Oudinot (VII^e).
Revue du Clergé Français (March). Paris : Letouzey et Ané.
Revue Pratique d'Apologétique (March). Paris : Beauchesne.
Confiscation in Irish History. By W. F. T. Butler. Dublin : The Talbot Press.
The Church and Science. By Sir Bertram C. A. Windle. London : Catholic Truth Society.
In God's Army (II). By C. C. Martindale, S.J. London : Washbourne.
Loreto and the Holy House. By Rev. G. E. Phillips. London : Washbourne

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For many years in the African Parishes in which I have been, I often looked round the Church during the singing or reading of the Passion at Mass. Week, Year, and Month, or other hours, reflecting the Sacred History of the Passion of Our Blessed Lord. The sacred books of the past history of the other congregations without exception that they knew nothing of what the Priest was saying or reading. I am sure many Priests were experienced in this.

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